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THABO MBEKI: STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESSES – AN ANALYSIS OF HIS RHETORICAL TECHNIQUE.

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RHMZAR001

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:  Date: 23 JANUARY 2009

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Thabo Mbeki: State of the Nation Addresses – An Analysis of his Rhetorical Technique.

Zarina Rahman

Abstract

The dissertation analyses the rhetorical style of Thabo Mbeki with the aim of evaluating whether his oratory was effective enough to convince his audience to support him. It does this by analysing four of the eleven annual addresses that he delivered at the occasion of the Opening of Parliament during his period in office. Mbeki held the position of President of South Africa from June 1999 to September 2008. The speeches that were chosen for analysis from this period are 1999, 2003, 2006 and 2008. The motivation for these choices is related to critical periods during the Mbeki presidency.

Before analysing the speeches, the paper examines the context in detail by briefly outlining Mbeki's political and personal background in order to understand his identity in relation to his rhetoric. The current form of annual address at the opening of Parliament is placed in its historical context. It also places the type of speech in context in terms of parliamentary rules and the South African Constitution and does a brief comparison with similar addresses in the United States of America and Britain..

A key aspect of the dissertation is to attempt to identify how he possibly failed to gain the support his audience by missing the opportunities that his annual address to Parliament presented. In order to identify the disjuncture between the style and content of the oration and the audience, the dissertation examines the understanding of audience and speculates about the real and perceived audiences in the case of Mbeki's annual addresses.

The annual address to Parliament provided Mbeki with an opportunity to speak to the nation, directly through the various forms of media as well as through the members of Parliament that were present at the addresses. The dissertation concludes that, on the basis of the in-depth rhetorical analyses of the speeches and the perception of the audience, Mbeki's form of oration resulted in him appearing distant and aloof to his audience. Mbeki used Eurocentric language and metaphors that the audience was not able to identify with thereby failing to unite the audience in support for him. He failed to use presidential rhetoric to his advantage in his speeches in Parliament but further failed to bolster the rhetorical presidency by not establishing his ethos with the people whose support he depended on in order to secure his position in office. By maintaining a strong adherence to the British notion of a president-in-parliament, he remained aloof and wasted the opportunity that the office of the President provided. While his policies may have been sound, he was not able to convince his audience of this causing him ultimately to fail.

This dissertation addresses the rhetoric of Thabo Mbeki, the second president of the democratic South Africa, and looks specifically at his annual addresses to Parliament on the occasions of the opening Parliament. It examines his unique rhetorical style and whether it is effective in terms of the context and audience that he is addressing. Based on the analyses on the speeches, it attempts to draw conclusions about his rhetorical style and format and how this has influenced the presidency during his term of office.

Thabo Mbeki

It would be important to understand, very briefly, who Thabo Mbeki is before examining his speeches in order to place the person in context. Thabo Mbeki was the President of South Africa from 1999 to 2008 and of the African National Congress from 1997 to 2007. Prior to becoming the President of the country, he served as Deputy President in the first democratic Government of South Africa under the presidency of Nelson Mandela. He held the position of Deputy President jointly with F W de Klerk from 1994 to 1996 and then on his own until Mandela vacated the position in 1999. At the time there was little question about the fact that he would succeed Mandela and it is apparent that Mbeki historically held key positions in his party in order to be placed second to the iconic Nelson Mandela. It must be noted that while it was clear that Mbeki would succeed Mandela in 1999, there had been some debate within the ANC prior to his appointment as deputy President in 1994. Some members of the party preferred Cyril Ramaphosa, a former trade union leader and activist and one of the chief negotiators in the process that ended apartheid¹.

How Mbeki came to ascend to this high position in the party and what shaped him politically and personally, are topics too extensive to be covered in detail in this dissertation. It is, however, important to note some of the factors that propelled him into influential positions within the ANC and the country and what factors shaped his image. Mbeki is one of four children of Govan and Epainette Mbeki, both of whom were part of the Eastern Cape elite. His primary political influence can be traced to his father who was an African Marxist, a member of the ANC, a founding member of Umkonto Isizwe

¹ P47. Gumede, W M. (2005) Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC.

(MK), the military division of the ANC and a prisoner on Robben Island². Gumede quotes Mbeki saying that he ‘was born into the struggle’³. Based on his parents’ background, Mbeki’s early influences obviously stressed the importance of education which becomes evident by Mbeki completing his schooling and A-levels at home after being expelled from school for organising a school boycott in his matric year. This is further illustrated by the fact that he enrolled for a degree in economics with the University of London as an external student⁴. While Gumede points to Govan Mbeki’s apparent indifference to his son’s expulsion, Gevisser points out that he was determined that his son obtain a university education and in fact, tried to arrange for Thabo Mbeki to do a medical degree in India. Gevisser notes that he was ‘adamant that his son obtain a university education and enter a profession’⁵.

Mbeki left his parental home in 1960 to do his A-levels in Johannesburg where he lived with Duma Nokwe, an ANC member and advocate at the Johannesburg Bar. Gevisser describes Nokwe as someone who was proud of his education and who ‘was averse to populist instinct’⁶. Mbeki was forced into exile in 1962 under the instruction of the ANC at a time when his father and other members of MK were risking their lives with the armed struggle. In England Mbeki obtained his Masters degree in economics from the University of Sussex by 1966. Gumede’s descriptions of Mbeki suggest that he adopted a conservative image which he describes as the ‘Tory look’⁷ despite the fact that the 1960s was characterised by student radicalism. Gumede backs up this statement by quoting Kenny Parker who recalled Mbeki wanting to be seen as civilized. Gevisser, however, suggests that Mbeki’s behaviour prior to leaving South Africa and after being in exile was ‘littered with confrontations with his elders’⁸ about whether to fight or study. Mendi Msimang describes Mbeki as ‘fiery’ and indicates that it is only after interacting with Oliver Tambo, that he learned his self-effacing ways⁹.

² P34, Gumede, W M. (2005) Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC.

³ P34, Gumede, W M. (2005) Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC.

⁴ P36, Gumede, W M. (2005) Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC.

⁵ P128, Gevisser, M (2007) Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred.

⁶ P134, Gevisser, M (2007) Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred.

⁷ P36, Gumede, W M. (2005) Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC.

⁸ P161, Gevisser, M (2007) Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred.

⁹ P162 Gevisser, M (2007) Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred.

While in exile, Mbeki organised protests against the proposed death sentence that his father and others were facing. After completing his studies, Mbeki underwent military training in Moscow and began working for the ANC in Swaziland and Nigeria before finally returning to South Africa in 1990, 28 years after having left the country. Despite his wide-ranging work and travel on behalf of the ANC, it would seem that his period in Sussex had the greatest impact. It is significant that Mbeki celebrated his birthday two days after his first inauguration as President in 1999 with his friends from London and Sussex.

What becomes apparent is that Mbeki not only assimilated very easily into English culture but in fact, internalized many of the values. However, it goes back further than the period that he spent in exile as Gumede traces Mbeki's great love of English literature to his father, Govan, who was a teacher in the Eastern Cape¹⁰. This is also shown by Gevisser who looks at poetry written by Thabo Mbeki as a young man of 18 years. Gevisser contemplates the possibility that Mbeki may have wanted to follow another route than becoming President to become a poet or writer¹¹. This possibility is raised again when Gevisser refers to letters that Mbeki wrote in 1968 while undergoing military training in Moscow to Rhiannon Gooding, one of his friends from Sussex, in which he confesses that he misses England and the culture and literature that he was exposed to there¹².

This aptitude and love of finely crafted words is evident in the paper that Roberts includes in his book, *Fit to Govern*, as an annexure. It was published by Mbeki under an alias, JJ Jabulani, in 1971 in *The African Communist*, titled 'Why I joined the Communist Party'¹³. Mbeki indicates in the paper that there are two main reasons i.e. the plight of the people in South Africa and positive examples that were found in the Soviet Union. The paper is significant, not because of the reasons that he explains but the manner in which he does it. He uses emotive language when he describes the 'countryside' and contrasts it with the city and the changes that take place over time. He

¹⁰ P35, Gumede, W M. (2005) *Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC*.

¹¹ P125-127, Gevisser, M (2007) *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred*.

¹² PP183 & 270 Gevisser, M (2007) *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred*.

¹³ P288, Roberts, S R (2008) *Fit to Govern*.

uses old-fashion quaint, slightly romantic language when he describes how he experienced it initially and then the impact of the changes. His use of this type of language at this stage is noteworthy because it can be seen in his later utterances as this dissertation will show. What is interesting is that despite the emotive nature of the topic, he writes from a distant vantage point where the passage of time is inconsequential and the important aspect is the detail of the emotions contained in the words that he chooses. He uses short expressive sentences to depict the images in his paper.

Context and Parameters of Speeches

Under the South African Constitution and parliamentary rules, the President is allowed to convene Parliament for three reasons i.e. in order to address a joint sitting to deliver an annual address, conduct special business or to inform Parliament of a declaration of a state of national defence. This is dealt with in more detail below. These joint sittings were used by Mbeki to deliver the annual address at the opening of Parliament and on occasion to afford a visiting head of state to address Parliament. This dissertation will address his annual addresses to Parliament also referred to as the State of the Nation Addresses by the Government Communication and Information Services.

During the nine year period that Mbeki was President, he delivered a total of 11 annual addresses to Parliament. As it is beyond the scope of this paper to analyse all 11 speeches, a selection of four speeches were made based on the significance in terms of Mbeki's career as President and content of the speeches. The speeches chosen were the following: 1999, 2003, 2006 and 2008.

The 1999 speech is the first speech that he delivers to Parliament as President and in which he must set the tone for his presidency. It is also the first occasion in which he must establish his ethos which is especially challenging considering that he is replacing Nelson Mandela whose ethical status is world renown. In managing this change from the one President to the other, Mbeki must also ensure that his speech provides certainty in order to reassure the markets that there will be stability. Mbeki makes his speech at a time when there is growing concerns about the levels of crime and corruption, and his first big challenge is to address corruption in the context of reports of the Premier of

Mpumalanga saying that it is acceptable for politicians to lie¹⁴. There are also concerns about the growth of the economy and job creation and the effectiveness of Government's Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy that was introduced in 1996.

The 2003 speech is delivered a two months after the ANC's 51st National Conference at which Mbeki was re-elected as the president of the party. It is also one year before the next national and provincial elections in the country and therefore an ideal platform for Mbeki to begin his campaigning. Internationally, the United States was preparing for war against Iraq which would affect international relations and Mbeki spends some time on these concerns in his speech. Locally, there are growing concerns about the spread of HIV and Mbeki's stance on the issue, the growth of the economy, and the increasing political and economic strife in Zimbabwe.

The 2006 annual address is delivered less than a month before the local Government elections. It is also the first annual address since Jacob Zuma, the previous deputy President was removed from his position and charged with corruption and rape. The speech is delivered in the period following the uncovering of the travel fraud by members of Parliament. There is growing concern about corruption in the Public Sector which Mbeki deals with in his speech. This speech is also significant because he uses it to make the first announcement of Asgisa and it is the only speech that he makes direct reference to a statement from the Bible repeatedly. This speech is characterised by his strong attempt to unite his audience by speaking on their behalf by introducing the concept of an 'Age of Hope'.

While the circumstances around the delivery of the 2008 address to Parliament was difficult for Mbeki, it was also to be his last as he was unexpectedly forced to resign on 21 September 2008¹⁵. The speech, however, was delivered on the basis that he had about 15 months of his term of office left and must therefore be viewed in that context. It is supposed to be the second last address or last real speech to assess the state of the country

¹⁴ P2. Mahlangu apologises for comment, Sowetan 24 June 1999.

¹⁵ Appendix E.

and propose policies before his last speech which would have been his farewell speech to Parliament.

The speech is noteworthy because Mbeki delivers it less than two months after the 52nd ANC National Conference in Polokwane where Mbeki tried to stand for a third term as the president of the ANC but lost to Jacob Zuma. Part of the context that he deals with is the ANC decisions taken at the Polokwane conference that Mbeki had to implement such as the disbanding of the Scorpions and wanting Kgalema Motlanthe, the deputy president of the ANC as part of the Cabinet to ensure smooth transition after the 2009 elections.

In addition to the difficulties that Mbeki was experiencing within his party, there were concerns relating to his actions as President. He suspended Vusi Pikoli, the head of the National Prosecuting Authority on 23 September 2007 for a reported breakdown in his relationship with the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development and amid allegations that he interfered with the Directorate of Public Prosecution's investigation into the activities of the National Commissioner of Police¹⁶. On 12 January 2008 the National Police Commissioner was placed on extended leave by Mbeki¹⁷ after a warrant of arrest was issued for him.

Mbeki was also facing problems in the country with electricity supply in the preceding period to the extent that several mines had to cease their operations¹⁸ until there was a viable solution. There were also increasing concerns about Mbeki's 'quiet diplomacy' approach to the political and economic situation in Zimbabwe¹⁹.

Legislative Parameters

Having identified which speeches this dissertation will be analysing, it is essential that there be clarity about the authority of these speeches within the parliamentary system. Thus far and going forward, reference will be made to the annual address to Parliament despite the fact that the Government communications website refers to the 'State of the Nation Address'²⁰. The South African Constitution does not make provision for an annual address to Parliament but does give the President the power to call a joint sitting of

¹⁶ http://www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/Politics/0,,2-7-12_2194512,00.html.

¹⁷ <http://africa.reuters.com/wire/news/usnL13462121.html>.

¹⁸ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/jan/25/southafrica.business>.

¹⁹ http://www.news24.com/News24/Africa/Zimbabwe/0,,2-11-1662_2262175,00.html.

²⁰ <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/son/index.html#1998>.

Parliament in section 42(5) in order to conduct special business. In addition, section 203 of Chapter 11 that deals with security services compels the President to inform Parliament about a state of national defence²¹. While it is not contained in the Constitution, the rules of Parliament make provision for the annual address. Chapter two of the Joint Rules of Parliament gives the President the discretionary power to call a joint sitting:

Calling of joint sittings

7. (1) The President may call a joint sitting of the Houses when it is necessary for –

(a) the President to deliver the annual or a special address to Parliament; or

(b) a purpose mentioned in section 42(5) or 203 of the Constitution.²²

The Rules of the National Assembly, however, states that the President will open the annual sittings of Parliament:

Opening of Parliament or an annual session

10. The Speaker shall inform this House of the time at which the President will open Parliament or an annual session of Parliament, and the proceedings shall then be suspended until the President has delivered his or her Opening Address

Opening Address reported

11. The Speaker shall report to this House the President's Opening Address.²³

The only reference to the term 'State of the Nation' is publication 'National Assembly – Guide to Procedure' which states that the President 'customarily delivers the 'State of the Nation' address to a joint sitting of Parliament on the first sitting day of a new Parliament or of an annual session of Parliament²⁴. In the introduction to the publication, the Secretary to the National Assembly concedes that the 'guide is not intended to be an authoritative reference work on National Assembly procedure'²⁵.

It would appear that the custom relating to the President's annual address to Parliament at the opening of Parliament or an annual session of Parliament is a combination of the Queen's speech from the Throne in the United Kingdom and the US State of the Union address.

²¹ Act 108 of 1996.

²² P5, Joint Rules of Parliament, Chapter two.

²³ P5, Rules of the National Assembly, Chapter two.

²⁴ P33, National Assembly – Guide to Procedure.

²⁵ Piii, National Assembly – Guide to Procedure.

Under the US system, the Constitution says that ‘He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient’;²⁶ It does not indicate that it must be done annually, nor that it must be in person and it is not related to the opening of the Congressional sessions. Kohrs Campbell and Hall Jamieson (1990) point out that ‘[C]ustom and rhetorical processes, not the Constitution, determine that the State of the Union addresses are delivered at the opening session of Congress; Changing conceptions of the presidential role have made their delivery sometimes written, sometimes oral.’²⁷ They point out that the State of the Union addresses cover three main areas: ‘(1) public mediations on values, (2) assessments of information and issues and, (3) policy recommendations: and each incorporates, to varying degrees, specific characteristics related to each of these processes’²⁸.

Under the British system, the opening of Parliament usually takes place in November or December and is referred to as the State Opening²⁹. The Sovereign delivers a speech in the House of Lords that was drafted by Government and approved by Cabinet and outlines the policy and legislative proposals for the following year. The speech is delivered to a joint sitting of both Houses and the speech is reported in Hansard. This strong link to the British tradition of opening Parliament can be traced to South Africa’s history. South Africa was part of the Commonwealth countries from 1931 where the Head of State opens Parliament. South Africa left the Commonwealth in 1961 and changed the Constitution at the time to transfer the powers that were accorded to the Governor-General under the 1909 Constitution³⁰ to the State President under the 1961 Constitution³¹. South Africa only rejoined the Commonwealth in 1994³² and the traditions that had existed simply continued in a slightly altered form including the period after the current Constitution was finalised in 1996.

²⁶ Article 2, Section 3, Constitution of the United States.

²⁷ P2, Kohrs Campbell, K and Hall Jamieson, K, (1990) Deeds Done in Words.

²⁸ P54, Kohrs Campbell, K and Hall Jamieson, K, (1990) Deeds Done in Words.

²⁹ http://www.parliament.uk/faq/lords_stateopening.cfm.

³⁰ South Africa Act 1909.

³¹ Act No. 32 of 1961.

³² <http://www.thecommonwealth.org/Templates/YearbookHomeInternal.asp?NodeID=139444>.

The South African address includes all three areas as identified by Kohrs Campbell and Hall Jamieson and similarly is a presidential speech as opposed to the position of Government or the Cabinet. It is similar to the British system as it is delivered to a joint sitting of both Houses and reported in Hansard the following day. In South Africa, however, the speech is only debated in the National Assembly, not in both Houses as in the UK. Salazar points out that the fact that the annual address is not written into the Constitution means that the Cabinet is not being tested in the process and by continuing the tradition, the South African presidency is being transformed in the manner that the American presidency has been by direct appeals to Congress. He suggests that their appeals are 'a constant attempt at gaining, retaining or increasing the ethos of their office and by implication, personal power'³³

Branches of Rhetoric and Appeals.

As the key focus of this dissertation is rhetorical style, it is appropriate to give a short explanation of the main genres and appeals that are likely to be used by Mbeki in his speeches.

A speech is likely to be either epideictic, deliberative or forensic or have combinations of these main branches. Epideictic rhetoric is also referred to as ceremonial or demonstrative rhetoric and literally means rhetoric for display. This type of rhetoric is used to praise or blame and is focused on the present. It is typically used in funeral orations. Deliberative rhetoric is also called legislative rhetoric and is usually used in legislatures in order to persuade or dissuade an audience of a particular position. It focuses on the future and is characterised by oration that evaluate the advantage or disadvantage of a future action or decision. Forensic rhetoric originated in the courts of law and is also called judicial rhetoric. The rhetoric is focused on arguments that defend or accuse based on a past event. It judges the justice or injustice of a situation.

Persuasion is achieved through the use of three main artistic or intrinsic appeals i.e. logos, pathos and ethos. These are distinct from inartistic appeals that rely on witnesses

³³ P51. Salazar, P-J. The Joint Sitting of Parliament, 15 April 2003: A Rhetorical View of the Reparation Debate in Duxtader, E. and Villa-Vicencio, C. (2004) To Repair the Irreparable: Reparation and Reconstruction in South Africa.

or contracts and not on rhetorical discourse. Logos is an appeal to reason while pathos is an appeal to emotion. Ethos is an appeal that displays the orator's character.

Audience

A key aspect of the annual address to Parliament is to examine who the audience is i.e. who is being addressed and how or whether the speech reaches the target audience. A distinction may also be made between who the actual audience is and who Mbeki may be addressing indirectly. It would also raise the question of whether he is using the platform of the annual address in order to make statements that are not necessarily aimed at his immediate audience. Medhurst suggests that from a rhetorical perspective, the audience is always invented in the speaker or writer's mind and that it is very difficult to scientifically quantify who the audience is. He notes that it 'consists of all those people whom the speaker has conceptualized and defined as the audience capable of bringing about change in the exigence'³⁴. Perelman makes the distinction between a universal audience which consists of all rational beings and a particular audience is drawn from one specific portion of the audience. He notes that the rhetorical audience 'is always a composite'³⁵ and the difference relates to the audience at the speech's themes are aimed i.e. truth and facts for a universal audience or values for a particular audience.

As Mbeki is addressing Parliament, his immediate audience is in the chamber in front of him and comprises of the members of Parliament, the Ministers in his Cabinet, the Premiers of the provinces and the audience in the gallery. The gallery includes invited guests such as members of the diplomatic corps, past Presidents, leading figures in business and politics as well as ordinary members of the public. The media, both local and international is also included as part of the gallery.

The speech is broadcast live on television and radio and so his audience includes members of the public as well. It must be pointed out that the speech is delivered at 11:00 am which would mean that the members of the employed public will be at their places of work and therefore not necessarily able to watch/listen to the speech, unless obviously it

³⁴ P XVIII. Medhurst, M (1996) Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency.

³⁵ P204. Grossman, A (1999) A Theory of the Rhetorical Audience: Reflections on Chaim Perelman

was a key aspect of their work such as the media, economists and political commentators. The assumption that the unemployed masses would be watching/listening to the speech is one that would be difficult to test and the question of whether they would be interested in the full speech must also be evaluated.

In dealing with US presidential rhetoric, Kohrs Campbell and Hall Jamieson (1990) suggest that despite addressing many audiences, the President is always addressing 'the people'³⁶ and that adept Presidents would ensure that the speech is constructed in a manner so that the public being addressed is defined with a particular identity through the speech. Although Tulis proposes that with the technical development of the mass media, presidents have less difficulty speaking to 'the people'³⁷, the fact that many South Africans do not have access to technology must be considered in this context.

Having identified the actual audience both present and assumed, one has to look at the individual speeches to ascertain who Mbeki appears to be addressing in addition to the obvious audience. The introduction of certain topics and the approach to particular issues may be explained by the fact that he is assuming that the speech will get attention from a wider audience than those in attendance. These instances will be highlighted in the speeches below as well as the issue of whether the appropriate strategies are adopted for the audience that he is addressing.

³⁶ P5, Kohrs Campbell, K and Hall Jamieson, K (1990), Deeds Done in Words.

³⁷ P16, Tulis, J K, (1987) The Rhetorical Presidency.

25 June 1999

In his first annual address to Parliament, Mbeki's speech has aspects of both epideictic and deliberative forms of oration. The beginning of the speech is largely epideictic where after recognizing the audience, including the dignitaries, his speech deals with unifying the audience by recognising those who had suffered in the past. The speech strongly emphasises the need to build a new united society and to replace the past.

The greater part of the speech is deliberative in which he sets out the ways that he intends to give effect to the changes that he thinks are required in order to create the new unified society. This part of the speech lists the specific areas that change will be sought through introduction of legislation and policy. It is in a form of a list of claims followed by confirmations and, in some cases, he includes refutations and illustrations. Despite the deliberative characteristic of this part of the speech, he makes constant references to the epideictic areas expressed at the start of the speech and thereby weaving the theme throughout the speech.

The speech is concluded in an epideictic form again but this portion is broader than simply looking at unifying the nation. While reiterating the comments about building a caring nation that he makes at the beginning of the speech, he also reminds the nation that they are part of the broader African community. This part of the speech has a strong ethical appeal with the mentioning of outstanding African and community leaders.

Having broadly sketched the outline of the speech, I want to deal more specifically with each of the three components mentioned above in order to analyse the detailed arrangement of the speech and the devices used.

The speech uses clichéd metaphors that evoke images of opposites in order to create the understanding of a new beginning. He uses images of nature by contrasting the 'dark clouds of despair' with 'the season of hope' and more striking, he speaks about a country that has bled from a thousand wounds that is now 'progressing towards its healing'³⁸. These metaphors act as the basis for the premise of the speech i.e. that this is a new

³⁸ Appendix A, page 2, paragraph 2.

beginning and that South Africans should be defining themselves in terms of these changes. His comment that '[T]he continuing process of social and national emancipation, to which we are all subject, constitutes an evolving act of self-definition'³⁹, is interesting in relation to his portrayal of the nation. He makes a distinction between social and national emancipation which implies that these are two separate processes. This theme is continued in the rest of the speech with the references to changes in society. He also refers to it as 'an *evolving* act of self-definition' which indicates that the process of having a final understanding of society has not been completed and that the process is still continuing. This new beginning is confirmed by the statement referring to the 'dawn of a new life'. In this manner Mbeki suggests the new society that will become a reality as a result of emancipation.

It must be pointed out that this is the second Parliament of the new democracy and therefore not a complete new start. However, Mbeki does not refer to the work of the previous Government in this regard and there is no sense of continuation, only of a new beginning.

The following paragraph appears clumsy and long-winded when Mbeki is in effect thanking the electorate for giving him the mandate with which to govern and indicating how he interprets their confidence:

'When millions of our people when to vote three weeks ago in peaceful elections that were free and fair, they guaranteed the permanence of the foundations from which we will advance to meet this objective. To these masses we owe the obligation to recommit the Government, on whose behalf I speak to the construction of a people-centred society.'⁴⁰

This paragraph refers to the peaceful elections which imply that there may have been some concern about this aspect of the elections. In fact, he emphasises this aspect by referring to the peaceful elections 'that were free and fair' which raises the question about why these aspects needed to be stressed at a time of relative democratic stability.

³⁹ Appendix A, page 3, paragraph 1.

⁴⁰ Appendix A, page 3, paragraph 2.

The association between the permanence of the foundations and advancing to meet the objective is obscure as the two images are completely different. The sentence is particularly long and complex. It is not clear what the 'objective' is that will be met, as it could be the 'act of self-definition' or ensuring that South Africa is a 'nation at work to build a better life' from the previous paragraph. When he commits his Government to creating a people-centred society, his exceptional use of the passive voice indicates a distancing and a lack of emotion that should accompany a promise of this sort.

The assumption is that he is attempting to unify the audience around the notion of changes that he promises to bring to the society. This paragraph is the basis for the following paragraphs in which he outlines his vision for the society that he wishes to build.

Following his introductory remarks of praising and unifying the audience, Mbeki continues to outline his view of what the new society should look like but by referring to the negative. He starts three paragraphs with reference to the society that is to be replaced and the negative aspects of that society. These are 'we seek to replace a society'⁴¹ and '[T]he society we seek to replace'⁴² twice. While passively blaming the previous society he is at the same time able to acknowledge those that suffered. By listing all the negative aspects of the society that he seeks to replace, he also begins to introduce those aspects of society that he addresses later in the speech when he deals with what specifically must be changed and how the Government intends to implement it.

The purpose of this long exordium appears to be to set out his intention of uniting the society around the values embodied in a caring society and how he intends to deal with the conditions that have resulted in the current status of society. In the first of these paragraphs dealing with the society that is to be replaced, Mbeki uses hyperboles such as 'brutish in the extreme', 'over the centuries', 'condemned millions', 'catastrophic loss'⁴³ to convey the severity of the society that must be eradicated. He uses the phrase 'denigration as subhumans' which is an odd choice considering that the etymological root

⁴¹ Appendix A, page 3, paragraph 3.

⁴² Appendix A, page 3, paragraphs 4 and 5.

⁴³ Appendix A, page 3, paragraph 3.

of the word 'denigration' denotes 'blackening' which is generally understood as 'belittling'. It may have been more apt to use a word such as 'degraded' which would have stronger links to 'subhuman'. The use of hyperbole could possibly be to arouse the emotions of anger and outrage in the audience.

In the second paragraph dealing with replacing the society, he uses the Darwinian concepts of 'the law of the jungle' and 'survival of the fittest'⁴⁴ and refers to the fate of the weakest. He blames the social ills of that society is currently experiencing on these concepts. This metaphor does not work very well because Darwin's theory is that of evolutionary change where natural selection ensures the survival of the strongest in an ecosystem. If one assumes that he is referring to apartheid or simply White minority rule as being responsible for the state of society, then it must be recognised that these systems were artificially introduced.

In this paragraph, he uses a series of clichés to describe the social ills that have affected the 'weakest' in the society such as 'a twilight world of drugs and alcohol abuse', 'continuous sexual and physical abuse of women and children', and 'purposeless wars fought with fists and boots, metal rods, knives and guns'⁴⁵. The language and the listing of the social ills may be designed to evoke emotions of pity where the weak are portrayed as helpless to intervene in their fate.

The third reference to replacing the society blames it for the loss of morality in 'all areas of human activity' where 'the concepts of right and wrong are dead'⁴⁶. This theme is linked to the theme of corruption which is the third main theme later in the speech. What is striking here as with the two previous references to replacing the society, is the all-encompassing nature of the statements. This may be to create the maximum emotional effect on the audience but at the same time may be in conflict with what is actually happening in society. He uses this third paragraph dealing with the replacement of the society to appeal for unity in dealing with the challenges facing Government. He does

⁴⁴ Appendix A, page 3, paragraph 4.

⁴⁵ Appendix A, page 3, paragraph 4.

⁴⁶ Appendix A, page 3, paragraph 5.

this by appealing to the whole nation for their assistance to develop the ‘society into one which guarantees human dignity’⁴⁷.

While it is apparent that Mbeki attempts to persuade the audience using pathos, one must determine whether his assessment of the audience is the correct one. By using the phrase ‘the society we seek to replace’ infers that it is the society currently exists that is unsuitable. There is an arrogant attitude in the notion that despite the changes in the country in the preceding years, nothing much has changed and he will bring about the replacement of society.

Bearing in mind that South Africa’s most recent past was characterised by divisions in society, the appropriateness of sweeping statements about the state of a society that is not homogeneous must be questioned. His assumption of a lack of agency on the part of those that were discriminated against means that he ignores the importance of the notion of Ubuntu that characterised those communities who fought against apartheid.

He extols the nation in the following paragraph when he states that:

‘The Government, therefore, commits itself to work in a close partnership with *all our* people, inspired by the call “Farani!” [take one another’s hand!] to ensure that we draw on the *energy and genius* of the nation to give birth to something that would surely be *new, good and beautiful*’⁴⁸ (my emphasis)

By praising the nation who is his audience, he makes an ethical appeal whereby he indicates that their role is as important in this change as that of Government. This can be interpreted as an act of humility and that despite being the President, he needs them to hold his hand through the process.

Mbeki uses an eclectic mix of metaphors when he refers to the ‘energy and genius of the nation to give birth to something’. While it may take energy, it does not take genius to give birth. His reference of giving birth to something is vague when he should instead be calling on the energy and will of the people to give birth to a new nation. Using banal labels of ‘good and beautiful’ for this ‘something’ that will be born suggests that not much thought has gone into the use of these adjectives.

⁴⁷ Appendix A, page 4, paragraph 1.

⁴⁸ Appendix A, page 4, paragraph 2.

Once again, in this statement, Mbeki suggests that there is a new beginning with his term of office. He is clearly wishing put distance between the preceding term of Nelson Mandela to bring his own identity to the office.

Through these three paragraphs that focus on replacing the society, he identifies the key topics of his speech. In the first paragraph, he refers to the 'catastrophic loss of national identity and human dignity, land dispossession, classification and denigration as subhumans and the systematic destruction of families and communities.'⁴⁹ This theme of identity and community links up with his earlier comment about the 'evolving act of self-definition'⁵⁰. It is dealt with in greater detail later in the speech when he specifies the constitutional requirements to be implemented during the year.

In the following paragraph, he makes an appeal to his immediate audience to assist in this process of transforming society by calling on those who 'occupy positions of authority and power to join this *new* way of doing things' (my emphasis). Here he makes the point that the audience in the National Assembly must be part of this change because he refers to the '*common* effort to transform *all of us* into a people at work for a better South Africa'⁵¹ (my emphasis).

It is important to note that when he calls on the nation to assist in transforming society he does so by praising them and predicting that their efforts will have positive outcomes. However, when inviting those in positions of power, he simply asks them to join the effort. This distinction is an indication of that his primary audience may be nation outside the chamber.

Mbeki proceeds to the main part of the speech which is deliberative by linking the themes mentioned above to the rest of the speech. He does this throughout the speech but more directly when he starts the deliberative section as he deals with the issue of crime and the National Crime Prevention Strategy. Here he uses the expression 'the brutish society that

⁴⁹ Appendix A, page 3, paragraph 3.

⁵⁰ Appendix A, page 3, paragraph 1.

⁵¹ Appendix A, page 4, paragraph 3.

we seek to bring to an end⁵², where there is a repetition of this particular phrase to emphasise his aims and specifically what aspect of the society in particular he want to focus on.

His first topic is about policing where he makes a claim about improving the effectiveness of the police services through the process of human resource development programmes. As part of this deliberative move, he backs up this announcement with the detail of how this will be achieved by bringing in new recruits and by providing them with the requisite training. This is further backed up by statements about improvements that will be introduced to deal with disparities that currently exist with regard to racial and gender imbalances. Before proceeding with further with the message of how policing will be improved, he reminds the audience of the initial themes by placing his statements in context again by noting that:

‘This must also help us to ensure that we raise the public status of our policemen and policewomen so that they are seen, correctly as the frontline guarantors of the fundamental human rights to liberty, life, safety and security.’⁵³

He continues with the theme of improvement of the policing service by mentioning the establishment of a special crime fighting unit that will be established across several Government ministries to deal with national priority crimes, including police corruption⁵⁴. It is interesting to note that he announces the establishment of this co-ordinated unit after recognising the importance of the role of the police in ensuring the protection of the new society in light of the fact that the specialised unit will also deal with police corruption. The implication of noting these two aspects in this manner is that despite the importance of the police, they are not above the law either. This is all part of the broader Crime Prevention Strategy which he mentioned when he started the theme on policing. He confirms this with the statement that:

⁵² Appendix A, page 4, paragraph 4.

⁵³ Appendix A, page 5, paragraph 2.

⁵⁴ Appendix A, page 5, paragraph 2.

‘Co-ordination of all security organs will be improved in accordance with the provisions of the National Crime Prevention Strategy.’⁵⁵

Confirming the argument that there is a national strategy in place, he announces refers legislation that will be introduced in order to deal with a range of different crimes.

Reiterating his theme of replacing a brutish society, he refers to a study conducted the Co-ordination and Implementation Unit in the Office of the Deputy President that has found a correlation between poverty, crime and race. It must be noted that this is Mbeki’s first annual address to Parliament after the elections which took place on 2 June 1999 which saw President Nelson Mandela step down as president. The study that he, therefore, refers to is, in fact, his own office which he had vacated only 23 days prior to this speech.

He provides evidence for the statement by noting that ‘[T]he areas of high crime concentration, including all crimes of violence, are the black and poor areas of our country’⁵⁶. He illustrates this point by listing an area in each province that serves as an example of this link and announces that steps are to be taken to reduce crime in those areas with the assistance of the communities that live there. The reference to the study and evidence to support it addresses the specific audience that the initial part of the speech was aimed at i.e. the poor and the previously disadvantaged. He is able to express an understanding of their plight by noting that the study ‘has confirmed what *all of us* have surely known’⁵⁷, while providing a solution and in this way he is seen as the champion of the poor.

This is an ideal example of the Toulmin model of argument where Mbeki starts with a factual claim about the link between poverty and crime, provides a warrant indicating that the high crime areas coincide with poor areas and proceeds to back this up by listing such areas. This allows him to respond with announcements of the steps to be taken to reduce crime. . This also serves as a good example of how Mbeki uses deliberative advocacy.

⁵⁵ Appendix A, page 5, paragraph 3.

⁵⁶ Appendix A, page 5, paragraph 4.

⁵⁷ Appendix A, page 5, paragraph 4.

He reinforces this link with the people by referring to measures of involving communities in fighting crime. He repeats the view of a partnership by stating that ‘the partnership between the Government and the people will be one of the hallmarks of the national offensive against crime and violence⁵⁸’. He uses this platform of partnership to introduce his next main theme when he states ‘[W]e will also adopt this same approach of partnership with the people in the fight against corruption.⁵⁹’ He makes an announcement about the Open Democracy Bill which provides for access to information held by the state and ‘protection of persons disclosing evidence of contraventions of the law, serious maladministration or corruption in governmental bodies.’⁶⁰

This commitment to dealing with corruption within Government is further supported with the reference to the Public Finance Management Act. Although this was enacted in 1999, it would only come into effect on 1 April 2000⁶¹. Mbeki mentions the agreements reached with the Public Service Commission about a code of conduct for public servants as added backing for Government’s commitment to deal with corruption. He aligns the approach to be taken in this instance with the initiative of Religious Leaders against Corruption and links it to Nelson Mandela’s call for an “RDP of the soul⁶²”. The interesting aspect of this alignment is that he simultaneously uses the ethos of the religious leaders and of Nelson Mandela to build credibility. His sentence following this ethical appeal, however, appears as if he is being defensive when he says ‘I would like to take this opportunity *once more to reiterate* the commitment of our Government to honest, transparent and governance and our determination to act against anybody who transgresses these norms⁶³’ (my emphasis).

Despite the previous sentence that appears to be a conclusion on the topic of corruption, he continues by announcing initiatives that will be undertaken by the South African Revenue Services, the police and prosecutorial services to deal with economic and white

⁵⁸ Appendix A, page 6, paragraph 2.

⁵⁹ Appendix A, page 6, paragraph 3.

⁶⁰ P2, Long title, Open Democracy Bill [B67 – 1998].

⁶¹ <http://www.treasury.gov.za/legislation/PFMA/default.aspx>.

⁶² Appendix A, page 6, paragraph 5.

⁶³ Appendix A, page 6, paragraph 5.

hope and pray for failure and to celebrate such whenever it has occurred, or when we have convinced ourselves that it has occurred.⁶⁷

This statement is aimed more broadly than simply at the ANC alliance partners and clearly aimed at the opposition political parties in Parliament as well. More specifically, it may be aimed at the Democratic Party whose controversial 1999 election slogan was 'fight back'. By suggesting that they get to know the 'real South Africa', he is also implying that they are out of touch with or unable to accept the changes of democracy.

In order to support his statements with regard to the RDP and Gear and to deal with the impediments to investment and job creation, he lists a series of initiatives that have been undertaken or are about to be embarked on in order to achieve the aims of the policy. This includes means to encourage savings by the State, increasing public sector expenditure, transforming the State at all three spheres in order to increase capital expenditure, restructuring state assets and investing in the energy. He announces the establishment of the International Investment Council which will 'work with the President, as well as our leading business people and trade unionists, to help us ensure that South Africa is an attractive destination for foreign investment'⁶⁸. He illustrates his commitment to growing the economy by mentioning the fact that he will be personally involved in the council.

He continues with the theme of promoting investment by referring to the establishment four working groups by apparently speaking to the nation as his core audience once again when he says '[C]onsistent with our determination to strengthen our partnership with the people for the achievement of our common goals...'⁶⁹. This message of working for the people is maintained when he addresses aspects of the economic policy that will involve the larger society such as the development of the small and medium enterprises and a co-operative sector. These initiatives are ways in which the poorer communities are able to improve their circumstances more directly and in this regard he uses phrases such as: '

⁶⁷ Appendix A, page 7, paragraph 4.

⁶⁸ Appendix A, page 9, paragraph 6.

⁶⁹ Appendix A, page 10, paragraph 2.

We have *listened very carefully* to what the actors in this area of the economy have said.⁷⁰

and

‘The Government will also place more emphasis on the development of a co-operative movement to combine the financial, labour and other resources *among the masses* of the people, *rebuild our communities* and *engage the people in their own development* through sustainable economic activity.’⁷¹

This message is a repetition of the theme that he mentioned in the introduction i.e. of taking each other’s hand. He will act after consulting the people and therefore act in their best interests. Bearing in mind that this speech is the first after the election campaign, one could assume that he is reassuring the voters that he will deliver on the election promises by continuing to address their concerns. He is using an ethical appeal of humility where he indicates that he is there to serve the nation. By repeating the same phrase, he is able let the audience know that there is one consistent message and he does this by repeating the message in different forms.

He continues with the impediments to investment by referring to the concerns with the high interest rates and the labour market. In doing so, he eases into the second main aspect of the economic policy i.e. of job creation. He addresses his critics on the issue that the labour market has an impact on investment by quoting an International Labour Organisation report as proof to refute the perceived obstacles. In this way he is able to use the stature of a United Nations body to support the view of the South African Government⁷².

Having introduced the topic of labour he makes a very explicit statement on Government’s position in this regard when he says:

‘The Government will continue to give priority to the issue of job creation. If perceptions or realities influence the process negatively, these must be addressed.’⁷³

⁷⁰ Appendix A, page 10, paragraph 3.

⁷¹ Appendix A, page 10, paragraph 4.

⁷² Appendix A, page 10, paragraph 5-6.

⁷³ Appendix A, page 11, paragraph 2.

He supports this statement with details that have been agreed to with the ‘social partners’ and at the Job Summit held in 1998. There is an indication that while Government has placed great importance on this issue, it must be a joint undertaking with the social partners. He does not identify the partners in the speech but mentions them at three times.

Having dealt with the two main areas related to the economic policy, Mbeki proceeds to deal with a range of other economic positions such as the improved access to buildings by the disabled workers, the operationalisation of the Umsobomvu Youth Fund, the constitution of the National Development Agency, the announcement of the lottery operator, the issue of gold sales and the cancellation of debt. While most of these issues are contextualized with regard to its importance for Government policy, he makes a point of explaining the significance of dealing with poverty in the rural areas. He illustrates the importance of ensuring that there is integration with regard to Government services by using an example of a clinic in a rural area. While this example would be understood in relation to the services that are rendered, Mbeki attempts to explain the importance in metaphorical terms relating it to the theme of national identity but the statement appears awkward and contrived:

‘We must also establish the conditions which give the possibility to this medical point to radiate outwards as a point of reference with regard to the larger project of our self-definition as a people at work, building a better life for ourselves.’⁷⁴

It is not clear what is meant by a medical point or whether he means ‘medical facility’. The phrase ‘radiate outwards as a point of reference’ equally does not fit with the idea of a medical point nor is it clear how by radiating outwards it can refer to the project of self-definition as a nation. The assumption is that Mbeki wanted to suggest that the attitudes with which basic services such as medical care are provided should reflect the same principles that support the building of a nation i.e. the same care should be taken.

Having dealt with two of the main themes of his speech, Mbeki addresses other key policies by announcing planned programmes in a manner that suggests that he is listing the issues. He comments briefly on the improvement of public spending, assistive devices

⁷⁴ Appendix A, page 12, paragraph 5.

for the disabled, centres for abused women and children, gender equity, poverty alleviation and HIV/Aids. Despite the growing public concerns about HIV, Mbeki only conveys two sentences on the topic.

Mbeki introduces the topic on education and skills by referring to a ‘historic document of the people of our country’⁷⁵, which indicates that ‘the doors of education and learning shall be open to all’. It is strange that he does not refer to the Freedom Charter directly and perhaps this is in an attempt to present himself as the President of the whole country and not to be seen as the President of the ANC only. He continues, however, to refer to those that died for this objective which he rephrases as ‘the right to freedom from ignorance’. He obviously places a great deal of importance on education as it is the only social service that he focuses on in the speech. He suggests that ‘education and training constitute the decisive drivers in our effort to build a winning nation’⁷⁶. The following statement by Mbeki may suggest that in addition to encouraging learners, he is sending out a message to international investors that education is a key priority and that South Africa will have the skills to be globally competitive:

‘Once more we will also take the necessary measures to mobilise the people, including the parents, so that we succeed as a country in meeting the challenge of educating all our people in a manner that it consistent with the demands imposed on everybody by the process of globalization.’⁷⁷

Mbeki deals with the theme of service delivery by linking it to the previous theme of education and training and referring to the skills audit of the public service. In this case, the emphasis, once again is very clearly ‘serving the people’ and ‘actual provision of services to the people’⁷⁸. Having dealt with rural poverty earlier in his speech, he now links urban poverty to service delivery. Here Mbeki brings in the unifying concept of society once again when he makes the following statement:

⁷⁵ Appendix A, page 14, paragraph 4.

⁷⁶ Appendix A, page 14, paragraph 5.

⁷⁷ Appendix A, page 15, paragraph 2.

⁷⁸ Appendix A, page 15, paragraph 3.

‘In this context, we must make the point that to overcome the problem of urban poverty will require that local Government adopts and pursues a consistent programme of poverty relief *without discrimination on the basis of race or colour*. Our Government is ready and willing to support this effort.’⁷⁹

This statement appears to be excessive in trying to make the point. He refers to both race and colour which are often terms used as synonyms. His statement committing his Government to support this is incongruent as local Government is a sphere of Government of which he is also the President. The impression is that he is trying very hard to convey a message of unity.

This unifying theme is continued when he deals with the constitutional requirement for the establishment of the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities. His language changes at this point and become more figurative as the following quote illustrates:

‘It should not happen that any one of us should feel a sense of alienation. Whatever the sickness of our society, none should be driven to levels of despair which drive them to a peripheral existence at the fringes of the mainstream. Nor should we allow those who were denied their identity, including the Khoi and the San, to continue to exist in the shadows, a passing historical relic and the object of an obscene tourist curiosity.’⁸⁰

While the sentiments being expressed in this statement point to the importance of inclusiveness and respect for everyone’s culture, the statement seems like an indictment of current society. The assumption that people are driven to the periphery of society does not make sense in a post-apartheid South Africa. The ‘peripheral existence at the fringes of the mainstream’ is an exaggerated image which does not fit with the strong attitudes about identity that existed among the oppressed during apartheid. His description of the Khoi and San seems harsh and could have been phrased in a more positive manner by urging the celebration of their language and culture.

⁷⁹ Appendix A, page 15, paragraph 4.

⁸⁰ Appendix A, page 15, paragraph 5.

The speech becomes more epideictic with these concluding statements and Mbeki once again builds on the theme of identity and tries to recognise all groupings.

In what appears to be a further unifying position, he notes that '[W]e will also work with the traditional leaders⁸¹' and refers to clarifying their role. He does not however, recognise that they are important in nation building, only that the outstanding matters with regard to their role must be resolved. Other than this one sentence, the only other time that the traditional leaders are mentioned in the speech is when he deals with rural poverty and the importance of integrating the work of all the Government departments. One would assume that when dealing with the issue of preserving cultural heritage, the role of the traditional leaders would be more recognised. This may point to tensions between his leadership as President and the traditional leaders or simply an assertion on Mbeki's part about where power resides. This apparent disregard for the traditional leaders and assertion of power is reinforced by the fact that he mentions the importance of the role of the Government departments of Sports and Recreation and Arts and Culture in order to ensure that culture and language retain its rightful place immediately after his comment about the traditional leaders. The disparity is glaring as the Government departments are given the responsibility while the role of the traditional leaders are still to be defined. He concludes by noting that:

'This will be an important contribution to the effort we must sustain to wipe out the legacies of racism and sexism, which continue to afflict our society⁸²,

This is also the only time in the speech that he refers to sexism and is significant as traditional leaders are largely considered to be patriarchal.

Mbeki extends the notion of nation building to include the role of South Africa in Africa by committing the Government to the objectives of the African renaissance and ensuring that the next century evolves into an African century. More specifically, he supports this by committing to work towards resolving the conflict on the continent and restoring the dignity of the Africa. In doing so, he suggests that Africa take up its rightful place with

⁸¹ Appendix A, page 16, paragraph 3.

⁸² Appendix A, page 16, paragraph 3.

the assistance of previous African leaders, in particular, Nyerere, Masire and Mandela⁸³. He concludes this account of the role of Africa by stating:

‘As part of the world community of nations, we will make our due contribution to the construction of a *new world order* that will be responsive to the needs of especially the *poor of the world*.⁸⁴

Mbeki seems to be positioning himself as a champion for the rest of Africa and then in that position as the champion for the poor of the world as well. There is an assumption built into the notion of constructing a new world order and that is that the rest of the world agrees with this claim. The phrase ‘new world order’ is interesting because it is a conservative phrase was used by President George Bush in the justification of the Gulf War⁸⁵. It is likely that Mbeki is using the term knowing the conservative association and choosing to turn its meaning around.

He concludes his speech by recognising the electorate and the role they played and the related responsibilities of Government. He specifically acknowledges the provincial and national winners of the President’s Award for Community Initiative⁸⁶ and once again relates their work to his initial theme of ‘building of a caring society’. The concluding remarks of his speech are strongly ethical where he expresses humility by indicating that acts as the servant of the people. Here he uses particularly symbolic language when expressing his humility to the point of appearing as if he is at the mercy of the people.

‘Their wisdom will *protect* us, *exalt* and *honour* us, even as it costs us all we have, including the vanity of our prejudices. If, by word and deed, *we take our place among the ordinary people* who position themselves in a nation that is at work to build a better life for all within a *caring society*, then we should expect that the poor of the world will set a garland of grace on our heads and present each and every one of us with a crown of splendour⁸⁷.

⁸³ Page 17, paragraph 1.

⁸⁴ Page 17, paragraph 1.

⁸⁵ http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/public_papers.php?id=2217&year=1990&month=9 & http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/public_papers.php?id=2767&year=1991&month=3.

⁸⁶ Page 18, paragraph 1.

⁸⁷ Page 18, paragraph 3.

Despite this prostration to the people, there is a sense of aloofness when he refers to 'taking our place among the ordinary people' and having them 'set a garland of grace on our heads' because ultimately he is indicating that he is not one of them but that he is there because of them. Taking into account his immediate audience in the chamber, and the audience as the nation who he appears to be addressing, one has to question whether the symbols will be understood by them. He appears to be quoting the bible through this phrase which is captured in the St James Bible as proverb 4:9 as 'She shall give to thine head an ornament of grace: a crown of glory shall she deliver to thee.'

By placing himself to work for them, he would expect them to recognise his leadership qualities. It is interesting that despite noting earlier that '[W]e sit in this Parliament, authorised by these women from the Northern Province and others who mirror them throughout the country', in his final comments, he refers to 'the poor of the world'.

The introductory remarks and conclusion is very similar in that the epideictic parts of the speech rely on ethos. He derives his ethos by acknowledging the role of the voters and in this regard, he isolates the poor and previously disadvantaged. Mbeki gives expression to the detail of how he intends achieving his vision of improving the lives of those people in the main central component of the speech. While this portion relies to a large extent on logos, it is interspersed with the ethical appeals and there is a constant link back to the themes noted in the initial epideictic introduction. The conclusion is a reiteration of the ethical appeals and Mbeki returns to an epideictic form.

14 February 2003

Mbeki's annual address to Parliament in 2003 must be seen in the context of the elections the following year and as possibly the last opportunity for him to articulate his vision for current term of Government.

This speech is marked by the fact that it has aspects that are both largely deliberative and forensic. The deliberative features are evident as Mbeki uses the opportunity to convince his audience about South Africa's stance on the impending war in Iraq as well as to outline his proposals for the final year of the second Parliament. Before outlining his vision, he takes stock of the achievements from the previous year and in this manner takes a somewhat forensic approach. However, bearing in mind that the speech allows him to address the nation, he interweaves epideictic aspects in the speech.

In terms of audience, Mbeki acknowledges an extremely wide range of listeners that includes the political leaders from all the spheres of Government, the judiciary, traditional leaders, leading public servants and members of the public. His relatively long salutation makes it clear that he assumes that he is addressing a very wide audience that includes 'friends and comrades, people of South Africa'⁸⁸.

Mbeki begins his speech in an epideictic manner by reminding the audience of the state of the country ten years ago. He recognises and praises Oliver Tambo and Chris Hani who died in that period and pays respects to their families. He uses this statement to then acknowledge the presence of eight members of the audience who he refers to as 'veterans'⁸⁹.

By recognising Tambo, Hani and the veterans, Mbeki uses pathos to remind the audience of the tribulations of the past and the fight for democracy. He does this by drawing attention to the change from 'the system of white minority domination'⁹⁰ by the use of terms such as 'the first democratic elections and our transition to democratic majority

⁸⁸ Appendix B, page 3, paragraph 1.

⁸⁹ Appendix B, page 3, paragraph 3.

⁹⁰ Appendix B, page 3, paragraph 1.

rule'. 'the second decade of freedom'⁹¹, 'this seat of democracy for which they struggled throughout their lives'⁹² and 'enjoy the freedoms which many in our country already take for granted'⁹³.

It is strange, however, that Mbeki uses a cliché of 'the long march against the system of white minority domination' because the idea of a long march implies a steady long-drawn-out action. While he does not mention apartheid, he implies it by referring to the system of domination and it must be remembered that while the fight against apartheid was protracted, it took many different forms at the same time and would not be seen as a steady action. The latter years of the resistance against apartheid was marked by its particularly violent nature. This tempered image possibly relates to his later statements against the imminent war against Iraq where he stresses support for peace.

When he proceeds to the discussion on the ICC Cricket World Cup that had just started, he combines two key aspects. He continues with the focus on freedom and democracy with an appeal to pathos by combining the common cause of a sporting event and the patriotic emotions that go with such events.

He evokes the emotions of his audience by welcoming the sportsmen and wishing them well and thereby displaying the quality of a good sport and by thanking the ICC for the opportunity to allow Africa to host the tournament and in this manner evokes the feeling of African pride. He then appeals more directly to his immediate audience and the nation that he presumes is listening to his speech when he makes the following statement which serves to unify the audience around the issue of national pride:

'Once again, we extend our best wishes to *our warriors*, the Proteas, confident that at the end of the day *they will win, because they are the best*.'⁹⁴(my emphasis)

His use of the word 'warriors' seems out of place when one takes into account his later comments about supporting peace. The word implies that the team is going into battle and transforms their involvement in the tournament from simply being players to being

⁹¹ Appendix B, page 3, paragraph 1.

⁹² Appendix B, page 3, paragraph 3.

⁹³ Appendix B, page 3, paragraph 3.

⁹⁴ Appendix B, page 4, paragraph 4.

more forceful. It is likely that this is an attempt by Mbeki to indicate that battles should only be fought at sports events.

He shifts the focus on democracy slightly by referring to the legislature and more specifically to the seat of the legislature in Cape Town. In this regard, he acknowledges the role of Cape Town in the following statement:

‘We salute this city, Cape Town, *our legislative capital*, that successfully hosted the opening ceremony and the first game of the 2003 ICC Cricket World Cup. Today, as before, *this great metropolis* has provided us with the venue for the commencement of the *fifth session of our second democratic Parliament*.’ (my emphasis)⁹⁵

This statement must be read in conjunction with an earlier reference to Cape Town where he refers to it as ‘this place at the southern tip of Africa that houses our national legislature, on the Eastern shores of the Atlantic Ocean’. He is creating a clear image of Cape Town on the edge of Africa that represents democracy for South Africa. He elevates the city to that of a ‘great metropolis’ thereby creating an image of a large and important hub. This portrayal of the city may be in preparation for the later equation of the city with New York.

His statement about Cape Town providing the venue for the ‘for the commencement of the fifth session of our second democratic Parliament’ is appears to be tautological as Cape Town is the seat of the legislature and there is therefore no deliberate action that is taken on the part of the city that justifies congratulation. This could possibly be interpreted as a form of praising the city.

This focus on freedom, democracy and its institutions is the basis for one of the main themes that Mbeki deals with in his speech, that of war and peace. He introduces this by equating Cape Town and New York by referring to Cape Town again as ‘this place at the southern tip of Africa that houses our national legislature’ and New York as a ‘place on the Western shores of the Atlantic ocean, the great city of New York, which hosts the parliament of the world, the United Nations Organisation’. This equation of the two cities

⁹⁵ Appendix B, page 3, paragraph 5.

and the two democratic institutions seem to imply that they are equal in status despite being on opposite sides of the world.

Mbeki speech becomes deliberative as persuades his audience about the importance of maintaining peace. In this case, his audience seems to be wider than the South African public and the members of Parliament who he is addressing directly. He appears to be appealing to a broader international audience and in a sense trying to convince members of the UN Security Council who will make the decision of whether to go to war or not based on the report of the weapons inspectors. He seems to take on the role of an international statesman by speaking on behalf of the 'peoples of the world'⁹⁶ and raising the concern about 'global peace'⁹⁷ that will be decided on the basis of the inspectors that will be reporting on the situation in Iraq. He continues this line of reasoning by contrasting it with an African position of wanting the 21st century to be an African Century and a century of African and world peace. He does this by referring once again to the hosting of the Cricket World Cup and by mentioning the President's Golf Cup⁹⁸ which are designed as metaphors for how nations of the world should interact in other arenas.

His message is clearly that war in Iraq will affect the entire world and by making the following statement after his comments about the African Century and African peace he is able to contrast two sets of principles:

'Hopefully, today's report of the United Nations weapons inspectors to the Security Council will not serve as a *signal to some* that the time has come to *unleash the fury of war*.' (my emphasis)⁹⁹

This points to a rational, peace-loving Africa compared to those unnamed elements (some) that want to unleash the 'fury of war'. The use of the word 'fury' is interesting as it must be seen in light of the common usage of 'blind fury' indicating an action that is irrational and extremely violent.

⁹⁶ Appendix B, page 5, paragraph 1.

⁹⁷ Appendix B, page 5, paragraph 1.

⁹⁸ Appendix B, page 5, paragraph 2.

⁹⁹ Appendix B, page 5, paragraph 4.

The reasons for his elevation of Cape Town to be equal to New York becomes clearer as he tries to persuade his intended international audience that as the centre of democracy in South Africa, the opinions being expressed there should be seen as having equal ethos and gravitas to be taken seriously. As head of State, it is his opinions in particular that he is putting forward as being equally important and this can be seen as a means of elevating his position in the international arena. In the quotes below it can be seen how he assumes a level of importance for Cape Town in terms of making the decision about the war:

‘Today, on the 14th of February, two great world cities, New York and Cape Town, have to grapple with the fundamental question of war and peace. They have to choose sides in the contest between human hope and human despair, between war and peace.’¹⁰⁰

‘On this day both Cape Town and New York must respond to all the challenges honestly and frankly. I dare say that this national legislature will choose to give peace a chance.’¹⁰¹

By raising this issue in his annual address to Parliament and asking the legislature to support a peaceful resolution, he is displaying the behaviour of an international statesman. He appears to be consciously cultivating this role in this manner as well as his role in Nepal and on the African continent. He is also therefore able to demonstrate how in this role as international statesman of a democracy that is on par with the United Nations, his Government has played an active role in promoting a peaceful solution to the problem. He does this by outlining the assistance that South Africa will provide to Iraq in the form of engineers, technicians and legislation¹⁰². He backs up these announcements of the assistance that South Africa has provided by stating that it was done because ‘we prefer peace to war’¹⁰³.

¹⁰⁰ Appendix B, page 5, paragraph 5.

¹⁰¹ Appendix B, page 7, paragraph 3.

¹⁰² Appendix B, page 6, paragraphs 1-3.

¹⁰³ Appendix B, page 6, paragraph 4.

He provides the following refutation to other possible reasons for providing the assistance by stating that:

‘We have done all this because we prefer peace to war. We have taken the positions we have, not to oppose or support any country, nor to seek glory.’¹⁰⁴

This statement serves to express two ethical appeals: it expresses a neutral position with regard to the other countries because there is a higher moral appeal of peace as opposed to war. Secondly, it also expresses a form of humility where all the actions were taken simply for peace and not for the glory.

He continues his ethical justification with an appeal to pathos by reminding the audience that South Africans and Africans ‘know the *pain* of war and the *immeasurable value* of peace’ due to their previous involvement in international wars and during the fight against apartheid. This form of persuasion explains the reminder at the start of the speech about the attainment of freedom. He seeks to confirm his ethos on this matter through the following statement which indicates that South Africa has been in a similar position with regard to weapons of mass destruction as Iraq:

Many paid the supreme sacrifice in a protracted contest within our country and a dishonourable confrontation with the peoples of the rest of Africa, especially in Southern Africa, as we struggled to end the system of apartheid. At the same time, some among us worked to develop and accumulate exactly the terrible weapons that the Security Council is demanding that Iraq should destroy’¹⁰⁵.

This statement results in several contradictions in his attempts to address the different sectors of his audience who were involved in the conflict that he is describing. He notes that many paid ‘the supreme sacrifice’ which indicates an honourable death but in the same sentence refers to involvement in ‘a dishonourable confrontation’. He refers to the fight against apartheid as a ‘protracted contest’ which implies a sense of fairness such as in a competition. As noted previously, the struggle against apartheid took many forms and involved a great deal of dirty tricks. This is a particularly odd choice of words when

¹⁰⁴ Appendix B, page 6, paragraph 4.

¹⁰⁵ Appendix B, page 6, paragraph 5.

taking into account the fact that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report was to be released within less than two months on 21 March 2003¹⁰⁶.

While the point that Mbeki seeks to make about the South African experience providing him with the ethos to speak about these matters with some authority may be relevant, it fails because he does not adequately address the realities that existed. It provided a good opportunity for him to talk about the extent of the divisions that existed and to indicate the progress made by contrasting it with the current unity that exists. In this manner his ethical appeal would have been more subtle and credible. His stringing together of a number of ideas, none of which is accurate appears clumsy and may affect his authority to speak about the topic.

Mbeki illustrates his respect for the democratic processes by appealing to the legislature to pronounce itself on the issue of the war. This is illustrated by the several references to the institution of Parliament and the legislature. He refers to them as ‘the democratically elected forum of the people of South Africa’¹⁰⁷, and ‘this representative body of the masses of our people’¹⁰⁸. He also urges Parliament to express itself ‘for respect by *all countries* of the principle and practice of *multilateralism*, for the continuing responsibility of the United Nations with regard to issues of international peace and security, and the peaceful resolution of international conflicts’¹⁰⁹. This call on all countries to respect multilateralism and the role of the United Nations read in conjunction with the previous statement that the weapons inspector report should not signal to ‘some’ that they can embark on war and his declaration about being impartial¹¹⁰ is an appeal to particular countries respect the democratic processes. He chooses not to offend these countries by taking an ethical and diplomatic attitude of appealing to the higher value of democracy and its processes.

Mbeki links the theme of war and peace to the next theme of accounting for the changes that have taken place since the previous annual address to Parliament. Here he reiterates

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.info.gov.za/otherdocs/2003/trc/>.

¹⁰⁷ Appendix B, page 7, paragraph 1.

¹⁰⁸ Appendix B, page 7, paragraph 4.

¹⁰⁹ Appendix B, page 7, paragraph 2.

¹¹⁰ Appendix B, page 6, paragraph 4.

the ethical stance that the people of South Africa support peace because they have experienced the effects of war. He uses pathos to again remind the audience of a negative past when he says:

‘Without peace we will fail in the effort in which we are engaged to transform ours into a country of hope, and revert to the past on which we have turned our backs, a past of misery and despair.’¹¹¹

He uses a series of clichés to try to express the need for a positive outcome when he contrasts a ‘country of hope’ and a ‘past of misery and despair’ and speaks about having ‘turned our backs’. He uses the simplistic notion where there are only two possible extreme scenarios to explain the importance for peace.

This statement allows him to change the focus of the speech from being outward-looking and dealing with international issues to begin to concentrate on the state of the nation. His key phrase in this regard is ‘the tide has turned’¹¹² and he takes this metaphor further by suggesting that the task is to take ‘the tide at the flood’ to meet the obligations nationally and internationally.

Mbeki’s speech becomes forensic in nature when he begins to account for the changes that have been effected based on the promises that he made the previous year. He reminds the audience of the theme that he used the previous year of ‘pushing back the frontiers of poverty and expand access to a better life for all’ which appears as convoluted statements rather than decisively calling on the audience to act. This is combined with further clichés where he suggests that the audience ‘put our shoulders to the wheel to accelerate the pace of change’¹¹³. He repeats these clichés when he appeals for volunteers for the Letsema campaign a little while later¹¹⁴.

When he reminds audience of the call for the Letsema volunteers and how he appealed to them to follow the example of the South Africans living in the United States, he does not

¹¹¹ Appendix B, page 7, paragraph 5.

¹¹² Appendix B, page 7, paragraph 6.

¹¹³ Appendix B, page 8, paragraph 2.

¹¹⁴ Appendix B, page 9, paragraph 2.

see the paradox of the vastly different situations that the two groups would find themselves in¹¹⁵. As a South African being asked to follow the example of someone who is not in the country to experience the difficulties first-hand may appear insulting. The intention of this mentioning the support of those living in the United States may simply have been to acknowledge their support but it is conveyed as an example to emulate.

Continuing in this clichéd fashion, Mbeki thanks those that responded – ‘a word of thanks and appreciation; rolled up their sleeves; lend a hand; build a better life for all’¹¹⁶ - especially the members of Parliament¹¹⁷ but differentiates the importance of their contribution from the ‘ordinary citizen Letsema volunteers’ who assisted in the international events that were hosted by South Africa as well as those who had ‘participated in all the initiatives undertaken throughout the year’¹¹⁸.

By praising the volunteers in this manner, he is unifying the both the immediate and broader audience and thereby establishing his ethos with this group. This ethical appeal is important because his report on the progress made with policy promises is intended for this group who will judge his accomplishments the next year when they go to the polls.

Mbeki lists the achievements of the previous year, including the statistics of the growth in the economy and initiatives that have been undertaken, as proof of the success of the policies that he implemented was working¹¹⁹. This is encapsulated in his statement about having laid the basis over the past few years for ‘the advances we must make to meet the goal of a better life for all’¹²⁰. He supports this statement by confidently stating that it was the correct response and provides the following as proof:

‘The lives of our people are changing for the better. Gradually we are moving away from the entrenched racial, gender and spatial rigidities of the past. Our economy is

¹¹⁵ Appendix B, page 8, paragraph 3.

¹¹⁶ Appendix B, page 8, paragraph 4.

¹¹⁷ Appendix B, page 8, paragraph 5.

¹¹⁸ Appendix B, page 8, paragraph 6.

¹¹⁹ Appendix B, page 9, paragraphs 3-6 and page 10, paragraphs 1-6.

¹²⁰ Appendix B, page 10, paragraph 7.

demonstrating a resilience and dynamism that is the envy of many across the world.

Truly, the tide has turned.¹²¹

The clarity of these epideictic statements¹²² stands in contrast to some of the previous statements where the language appears unnecessarily complicated. These statements are intended to invoke emotions of national pride and patriotism in the audience. To the immediate audience i.e. the members of Parliament it serves to praise the work that they have done.

He counters the opposition by 'some'¹²³ to patriotism by pointing to the role that South Africa holds internationally and using this as further proof of the correctness of the policies that were adopted. He repeats the assertion that the lives of South African have changed for the better and that the tide has turned but more noteworthy is the fact that he repeats the following two sentences verbatim which he had stated when he started reflecting on the previous year's appeals and achievements:

'Our task is to take this tide at the flood, further to progress towards the achievement of the goals for which many of our people sacrificed. This is the perspective that will inform our work as we strive to meet our obligations to our people, and the people's of Africa and the world.'¹²⁴

These sentences at the beginning and end of the reflective portion of the speech seems to imply that he is at a point where there is much more that must be done and that having started and made some progress he is in an ideal position to complete these goals. It could be seen as an appeal to be given the chance to prove that he can meet these 'obligations' and that he is able to contribute much more to South Africa and on the continent and internationally. This appeal can be viewed as possible campaigning in light of the upcoming elections or perhaps to promote his role as international statesman.

Before dealing with the detail of the proposals for the coming year, Mbeki makes an ethical appeal to his audience by displaying humility and assuring them that their

¹²¹ Appendix B, page 11, paragraph 2.

¹²² Appendix B, page 10, paragraph 7 and page 11, paragraphs 1-6.

¹²³ Appendix B, page 11, paragraph 3.

¹²⁴ Appendix B, page 7, paragraph 6 and page 11, paragraphs 4 and 5.

opinions are important. In this instance, he is speaking directly to the ordinary people when he makes the statement that the goals of Government are informed by their interactions with the people of the country. He supports this by noting that:

‘I want to assure the thousands of South Africans who attended these izimbizo with Ministers, premiers, MECs and councillors that we have listened, we have heard and we have better understood what the people wanted.’¹²⁵

In order to illustrate how well they have listened to the people of the country, he responds directly to the people of Bekkersdal¹²⁶ in Gauteng about some of the issues that had been raised as part of the Presidential imbizo. By doing this, he displays empathy with the concerns of the people of a rural town and in this manner strengthens his ethos as a caring President.

Mbeki proceeds with the list of proposals for the coming year by starting with the expanded services. As the preface to the list of expanded services that will be provided, Mbeki reiterates the Government’s controversial economic stance that was adopted during the first Parliament. Mbeki states:

‘As hon members and the country are aware, we have, for some years, implemented GEAR, among other things, to generate the resources for us to address the social needs of our people. As a result of our successes in this regard, this year will see a further expansion of services to the people.’¹²⁷

The claim is then backed up by the list of services¹²⁸ that will put into operation over the next year. The significance of the measures being mentioned immediately after the statement about Gear is that the list of improved basic services to the poorer sectors of the population is used as the justification of a policy which some the ANC’s alliance partners have not fully supported. The issue then is not simply that Government will be providing additional services but rather that the economic policy, Gear, has proven to be the correct approach because it provides the means to do so. Without being overt, he is able therefore

¹²⁵ Appendix B, page 12, paragraph 3.

¹²⁶ Appendix B, page 12, paragraph 4.

¹²⁷ Appendix B, page 12, paragraph 5.

¹²⁸ Appendix B, pages 13 and 14.

to address some of the criticisms that have been leveled against the adoption of the policy.

Before proceeding to the second key task to be embarked on, Mbeki deviates from his list by acknowledging that his Government has not been able to address all sectors in society. He defends this statement by noting by introducing the concept of a ‘dual economy and society’¹²⁹. He points out that:

‘The one is modern and relatively well-developed. The other is characterized by underdevelopment and an entrenched crisis of poverty.’¹³⁰

This refutation of an apparent failing of Government is important because it is intended to deal with the possible concerns that relate to his later proposals about social and economic investment and Black economic empowerment policies. As these policy proposals affect the economy, Mbeki appears to be addressing the private sector who will be most affected by these policies. He stresses that it is imperative that this disadvantaged sector be responded to in ‘a focused and dedicated manner to extricate them from their condition.’¹³¹ This outlines the objectives in a manner that will deal with any opposition upfront and uses an argument of pathos by soliciting sympathy for ‘the poverty and suffering afflicting these masses of our people’¹³². Having made an emotional appeal, Mbeki hints at the announcements about the Government’s interventions.

After introducing the notion of a dual economy, he supports it with announcements of interventions that Government will employ such as reducing the number of people on social welfare, increasing the number of productive members of society and promoting gender equity¹³³. These announcements will have the effect of appeasing the business community and investors who want to see the growth of the economy. He is also able to get the patronage of the females in the audience more directly by supporting women’s rights.

¹²⁹ Appendix B, page 14, paragraph 4.

¹³⁰ Appendix B, page 14, paragraph 4.

¹³¹ Appendix B, page 14, paragraph 5.

¹³² Appendix B, page 14, paragraph 5.

¹³³ Appendix B, page 15, paragraph 1-2.

His second main area of policy proposals which is the improvement of the public service is linked to the first set of policy proposals of providing more services. He starts this claim in the following manner:

‘The effective delivery of the expanded services to the people requires that we improve the efficiency of the Public Service. Obviously, without an efficient and effective Public Service, it will be impossible to register the advances that we are capable of.’¹³⁴

Mbeki backs this statement up with a list of proposed interventions such as the audit of the skills in the public service, the establishment of the National Social Security Agency, the employment of community development workers, the improvement of monitoring capacity in the Presidency, the establishment of a Government call centre and the improvement of intergovernmental relations. The manner in which this cataloging of interventions is approached is conveyed as if it is a management report about staff related concerns and would presumably not be of interest to the politicians who form part of the audience. If it is assumed that the general public is the intended audience, then it would equally not speak directly to them because the approach is business-like rather than explaining how the general public will be advantaged by the changes being proposed.

Interestingly, Mbeki deals with the traditional leadership and their role as part of the improvement of the public service delivery proposals. The tone of his observation about the traditional leadership appears to indicate an underlying annoyance when he states:

‘This year we will also *have to* finalise the *long-running debate* about the role and place of the institution of traditional leadership, bearing in mind that this is one of our *constitutional* organs of Government.’¹³⁵ (my emphasis)

It is clear that Mbeki does not see a real role for the traditional leadership in Government but feels obliged to resolve their role due to the constitutional requirements.

Mbeki concludes the policy proposals on improvements in the public service, by referring specifically to the resolution of problems in the Eastern Cape without identifying the

¹³⁴ Appendix B, page 15, paragraph 4.

¹³⁵ Appendix B, page 17, paragraph 5.

actual problems. He does, however, note that the work being done there will ‘help Government as a whole to understand what needs to be done to improve our overall system of governance.’ More specifically he says:

‘The work being done in the Eastern Cape will also assist us greatly further to intensify our offensive against the cancer of corruption within the Public Service.’¹³⁶

He elaborates on how this process will be assisted by the experience of Government departments and constitutional institutions but does not deviate from the deliberative aspect of the speech at all to make a forensic assessment. This reluctance to elaborate on what the concerns are in the Eastern Cape could simply be explained by the fact that the process has not been resolved yet or alternatively, it could speak to political relationships within the ANC. It is also interesting that the Eastern Cape is singled out in the annual address to the nation in this manner.

Mbeki deals with the theme of economic policy by briefly addressing public finance spending, specifically investment in social infrastructure and then he deals in much greater detail with the growth and development aspect of the economy.

He links public finance spending with the broader theme of improving ‘the quality of the lives of our people’¹³⁷. This could refer both to the initial theme of improving services to the people and the notion of addressing the disparities of the second economy. He explains this statement briefly by listing the areas that social infrastructure investment will address and by committing Government in terms of financial resources. He supports this need for infrastructure investment by urging the provinces to ensure that they spend efficiently and by indicating that Government will concentrate on the development nodes that were identified in 2001¹³⁸. He announces two other Government initiatives that form part of the social infrastructure investment which are the launch of the expanded public works programme that will create employment and provide skills and the expansion of the multipurpose community centres.

¹³⁶ Appendix B, page 18, paragraph 3.

¹³⁷ Appendix B, page 18, paragraph 4.

¹³⁸ Appendix B, page 19, paragraph 2.

Having dealt with the social infrastructure investment, Mbeki addresses the broader topic of the growth of the economy. His first statement in this regard is the announcement of the date of the Growth and Development Summit. This statement is backed up by an explanation of what the aims of the summit are and what Government expects from its social partners. While he indicates that he will discuss some of Government's proposals in the speech and that Government's final submission would be available soon, he makes it clear that in this initiative, Government relies on the input of its partners not for direction but to ensure the success of the initiative. He does this through the following phrases:

'All the social partners will have to indicate what they will contribute to the common effort to tackle these various challenges.'¹³⁹

and

'We urge our social partners to finalise their own inputs so that the next stage of the preparations for the summit can commence as soon as possible.'¹⁴⁰

What is interesting is that despite this acknowledgement that the summit relies on the input of the social partners, he does not acknowledge the importance of their role and thereby does not acknowledge their ethos. Instead, he retains control over the summit by announcing the date, outlining the issues to be addressed and by submitting some of Government's proposals in his speech. By making Government's proposal's public through his speech, he is able to pre-empt the direction that the summit will take because some of the proposals will already be implemented. It is likely that this strategy was intended to counter any opposition to the Government's economic policy of Gear.

Mbeki makes the following comprehensive statement listing all the other areas of the economic policy that will be addressed and then supports the statement by listing the initiatives that will be undertaken:

'In addition to what we have said, the Government's economic programme will focus on: continued implementation of our existing microeconomic reform programme; investment in the economic infrastructure and other measures; small

¹³⁹ Appendix B, page 19, paragraph 6.

¹⁴⁰ Appendix B, page 20, paragraph 1.

and medium business development; micro-credit for productive purposes; black economic empowerment; and job creation.¹⁴¹

He announces policy initiatives that will be implemented to address these economic programmes by simply listing each issue and noting what it is intended to achieve. It is only when he deals with the Communal Land Bill, that he assures the audience that the Bill does not intend ‘to marginalise the traditional system of Government’¹⁴². Mbeki deals with these initiatives as announcements and does not engage the audience about what the initiatives mean in as far as the public is concerned. It can be perceived as a patronising attitude where by virtue of his position, he is able to make these decisions and pronouncements on behalf of the nation without having to get their agreement. They are simply being informed about the decisions that are being taken through this process.

However, when Mbeki discusses the proposals relating to Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and the need to define the policy more clearly, he starts by reminding the audience of the principles of democracy by referring to ‘the end of the first decade of our new democracy’ and the disparities that exist. He states:

‘Through a far-sighted partnership between all sectors of our society we can ensure a stable and growing economy that erases the inequities of the past and draws us all – irrespective of our race, sex, or creed – into a more prosperous and equitable future.’¹⁴³

He hints at the earlier discussion about two economies when he makes the following statements before proceeding to the detail of Government’s proposals on BEE:

‘No economy can meet its potential if any part of its citizens is not fully integrated into all aspects of that economy. Equally, it follows that an economy that is not growing cannot integrate all its citizens into that economy in a meaningful way.’¹⁴⁴

Mbeki obviously feels that he needs to remind the audience of the importance of implementing BEE in order to redress the unfairness of the past. The quote above uses

¹⁴¹ Appendix B, page 20, paragraph 2.

¹⁴² Appendix B, page 23, paragraph 1.

¹⁴³ Appendix B, page 24, paragraph 6.

¹⁴⁴ Appendix B, page 25, paragraph 3.

several phrases to convey the importance of the inclusiveness that is required such as 'any part', 'fully integrated', 'equally', and 'all its citizens'.

The Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, 2003 (Act no 53 of 2003) defines broad-based black economic empowerment to mean the economic empowerment of all black people (Coloured, Indian and African). As economic and political power was concentrated in the hands of the White minority until 1994, this would be a cause for concern for those who would have to redistribute their economic power. Bearing in mind that many of those affected may be international investors, Mbeki is careful to reassure this possible audience while at the same time clearly stating Government's intentions. He uses terms such as 'consulted extensively'¹⁴⁵, 'pragmatism and flexibility'¹⁴⁶, 'meaningful economic transformation', 'collective prosperity'¹⁴⁷, and 'establish certainty and stability'¹⁴⁸ to create confidence. He concludes this issue by noting:

'We will work in partnership with the private sector and will further ensure that Government actions are co-ordinated and monitored.'¹⁴⁹

Clearly Mbeki feels that he has to convince the audience of the importance of this policy. It is apparent that he is not speaking to his immediate audience in the chamber or the unspecified nation that may be listening as they would agree with the need for the policy. He seems to be at pains to appease investors that the policy is well thought through and that it will not interfere with the ability to do business.

Mbeki deals with the topic of the criminal justice system in an epideictic fashion by celebrating the successes in his term of office and listing a series of further interventions that will be undertaken. The attitude displayed earlier when dealing with the economy can be seen here once again in the manner that he claims success and simply lists the action to be taken. He is confirming that the policy decisions that he had taken in the past were the correct ones and that he is best placed to continue to do so. He uses the phrase 'will continue'¹⁵⁰ several times when dealing with this topic and frames other statements

¹⁴⁵ Appendix B, page 25, paragraph 4.

¹⁴⁶ Appendix B, page 25, paragraph 5.

¹⁴⁷ Appendix B, page 26, paragraph 2.

¹⁴⁸ Appendix B, page 26, paragraph 3.

¹⁴⁹ Appendix B, page 27, paragraph 3.

¹⁵⁰ Appendix B, page 28, paragraphs 3, 4 and page 29, paragraph 3.

collar crimes. While these remarks are clearly part of the theme that deals with crime and corruption, it appears to be tacked on. This could be interpreted as less important if one assumes that the audience that he is addressing in his preceding statements are the public servants that may be expected to take note of the speech.

Having dealt with the issues of crime and corruption, Mbeki deals with the second main theme of the economic challenges by once again referring to his initial statements about the 'caring society'. He qualifies the society that must be established by pointing out that it must 'address the challenge of meeting the material needs of our people'⁶⁴. This qualification acts as the basis for his statement and justification of the broad economic policy framework. After giving some background to the economic framework of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme (Gear), he makes the clear statement that '[T]he RDP and Gear *will remain* the basic policy objectives of the new Government to achieve sustainable growth, development and improved standards of living.'⁶⁵ (my emphasis)

The unambiguous nature of this claim and the preceding background information is important because the previous indications of starting anew, it signals a continuation of the previous (Mandela) Government and allows for alignment with the ethos of that Government. However, it also acts as a firm notice to the critics of this policy that the Government is resolute in its stance. It is important to remember that many of these critics are found among the ruling ANC's alliance partners⁶⁶. To illustrate his commitment to this policy, he supports it with the undertaking to deal with the impediments to investment and job creation. He also quotes the evidence of the GDP figures to prove that the policies have resulted in change and actively refutes the 'pessimists'. He confronts the critics more directly by stating:

'The challenge remains for all of us to get to know the real South Africa and, in this context, to *fight back* to defeat a frame of mind which drives some among us to

⁶⁴ Appendix A, page 7, paragraph 2.

⁶⁵ Appendix A, page 7, paragraph 2.

⁶⁶ Them & Us Conference. Speech by Zwelinzima Vavi, Cosatu Assistant General Secretary, 26 August 1997 Durban: *GEAR TODAY - GONE TOMORROW*.

by using the word 'will'. It is significant that his comments refer only to his term as President and there is no continuity with President Mandela's administration. He is claiming this success as his own. He includes the wider public when he concludes this topic by acknowledging the importance of the Letsema volunteers:

'Again, in this area, as in all others, conditions are ripe for us to forge a people's contract for a safer and better South Africa.'¹⁵¹

Before concluding his speech, Mbeki discusses the establishment of the African Union and its objectives of 'global peace, security and development'¹⁵². He proceeds by giving further details about these objectives including the impact of Nepad, the resolution of conflict on the continent and internationally. He expresses gratitude to the SANDF for their peace-keeping efforts on the continent and acknowledges those that have died in the process. He mentions South Africa's international alliances and South Africa's role in achieving the objectives of each partnership. As noted previously, Mbeki may be casting himself in the role of international statesman and by reporting on the discussions and events on the continent, he acts as the representative of the people to the rest of Africa. While this may be an important aspect of the presidency, it holds equal importance to the current audience who would be concerned about the Africa in as far as it affects South Africa.

He concludes his speech in an epideictic manner by speaking about the South African nation. He introduces this topic by linking it to the previous topic of international relations when he states:

'In carrying out these international responsibilities we proceed from the premise that our success in social change and nation-building is conditional on the progress humanity makes in building a caring world. Inversely, building a new and prosperous nation is itself our own humble contribution to the well-being of humanity as a whole.'¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Appendix B, page 29, paragraph 5.

¹⁵² Appendix B, page 30, paragraph 1.

¹⁵³ Appendix B, page 32, paragraph 2.

He ingratiates himself with the audience by displaying humility about his position and the possible small effect that it can have on 'humanity'. He then suggests ways in which this nation-building can take place such as culture, music and art, details of how the Freedom Park Monument is being established, how the National Orders were introduced in 2002, the work being done by the International Marketing Council and the Proudly South African campaign. He suggests that the tabling of the Truth and Reconciliation report will assist with understanding the past and 'forging a people's contract for a better tomorrow'¹⁵⁴. He uses phrases to instill national pride such as: 'the values that should define us both as a nation and as its individual components'¹⁵⁵; 'strive to become a caring society of up-standing citizens'¹⁵⁶; 'build pride in our country and promote its attributes abroad'¹⁵⁷. Mbeki's final comments again refer to the end of the first decade of democracy and he reiterates the theme that 'the tide has turned'¹⁵⁸. It seems that at the end of the speech he addresses an assumed nation that is listening and he attempts to arouse national pride and cohesion.

In this speech, Mbeki uses mainly deliberative rhetoric with instances on epideictic and forensic forms interspersed. He starts by appealing to the ethos of veterans who fought against apartheid either directly or through their families. The appeal takes a form of forensic rhetoric because it reminds the audience of the past and the injustices that were fought. In general, Mbeki's speech is largely deliberative when dealing with the importance of sports events, the roles of Cape Town and New York and his position on the war in Iraq. This is interrupted by a forensic review of the progress made since the last annual address to Parliament. His speech reverts to being deliberative as he outlines his plans for the following year in a list fashion using an appeal to logos.

¹⁵⁴ Appendix B, page 33, paragraph 2.

¹⁵⁵ Appendix B, page 32, paragraph 6.

¹⁵⁶ Appendix B, page 32, paragraph 6.

¹⁵⁷ Appendix B, page 33, paragraph 1.

¹⁵⁸ Appendix B, page 34, paragraph 3.

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This speech was delivered in the context of Mbeki having removed the Deputy President, Jacob Zuma from his position, the previous June as a result of his relationship with Schabir Shaik who was convicted of fraud and corruption¹⁵⁹. It was also two months after Jacob Zuma was charged with rape and was awaiting trial. Another key aspect of the timing of the speech was that it was delivered less than a month before the local Government election. Mbeki also uses the speech to a large extent to pre-empt the launch of the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa by the new Deputy President, Phumzile Mlambo-Neguka.

This situation is an example of a rhetorical situation as defined by Bitzer:

‘Rhetorical situation may be defined as a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence.’¹⁶⁰

Bitzer points out that there may at least one controlling exigence that determines which audience must be addressed and the change to be effected. In this case the controlling exigence is the removal of the previous Deputy President, Jacob Zuma from his position. The audience that must be convinced or constrained are those that believe that he was treated unfairly and the constraints to be influenced are their opinions in a manner that shows them the action that was taken was the correct one. What is apparent in this speech how Mbeki employs the artistic appeal by using ethical proofs in order to justify his actions and convince the audience to accept the new Deputy President and at the same time appeal for support in the local Government elections.

Mbeki starts his speech epideictically by acknowledging the audience and makes a point of welcoming ‘some distinguished personalities who are sitting in the gallery of this hallowed chamber’¹⁶¹. By referring to the guests as ‘personalities’, he detracts from their

¹⁵⁹ Hansard 14 June 2005 - Statement by the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, at the Joint Sitting of Parliament on the release of Jacob Zuma from his responsibilities as Deputy President.

¹⁶⁰ P6. Bitzer, L.F. (1968) *The Rhetorical Situation*.

¹⁶¹ Appendix C, page 1, paragraph 5.

stature persons who contributed to the establishment of a democratic South Africa. The word is often associated with celebrities and people who are active in high society circles. He refers to the chamber as being 'hallowed' which is a description that is usually used in the context of a place that is holy. The religious theme of elevating the importance of the chamber in this manner is echoed later in the speech when he quotes the Prophet Isaiah thrice. The virtuous elevation of Parliament must be seen in terms of his actions with regard to dismissing Jacob Zuma and the statements that he made at that time about the correct behaviour associated with public office¹⁶². The combination of 'personalities' in a 'hallowed' chamber is incongruous as it is a title that holds very little weight combined with a respected institution. While it is clear that Mbeki wants to convey the respect that should be accorded to Parliament but in recognising as many diverse guests as he is required to, he uses a term that he thinks captures the diversity.

Among the people that Mbeki recognises, is Ella Gandhi, the granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi who he describes as 'irreplaceable'¹⁶³. This description literally means that it is not possible to replace him and makes little sense as it is not possible to replace any individual. It appears as if Mbeki is determined to avoid using the most obvious description of calling him 'unique' by using a word that does not fit the context.

He explains that Gandhi had launched Satyagraha, 'the unique nonviolent struggle that liberated India and inspired millions of freedom fighters everywhere else in the world.'¹⁶⁴ Despite the fact that the statement notes that the action was 'nonviolent', he contradicts it suggesting that it had inspired 'freedom fighters' which is associated with people who took up arms in order to overthrow oppressive governments. This term seems expedient when he could possibly have said 'defenders or fighters of justice and truth' which would be a more accurate description. It is possible that Mbeki uses the term 'freedom fighters' as many of the members of the National Assembly had identified themselves in that manner during the struggle and in this way he was appealing to them directly by elevating them as adherents of Gandhi's philosophy.

¹⁶² Appendix C, page 1, paragraph 5.

¹⁶³ Appendix C, page 1, paragraph 7.

¹⁶⁴ Appendix C, page 1, paragraph 7.

Mbeki recognises a range of persons and groups who would all represent a particular voting constituency such as those for whom the Truth and Reconciliation process brought closure, those who lost family members during the struggle against apartheid, traditional leaders in KwaZulu-Natal associated with the commemoration of the Bambata Rebellion, women, the youth and those South Africans of Indian descent. While many of these groups are recognised as a result of significant anniversaries of key events in South Africa's history of struggle, the ethical appeal that Mbeki makes to each group must be seen in the context the 2006 local Government elections and the need to consolidate his political position in light of his actions of removing Jacob Zuma as Deputy President.

Mbeki appeals to South Africans of Indian descent when he recognises Anil Kapoor as 'an outstanding human being and friend of our country'¹⁶⁵, and announces that Kapoor is to be a global brand ambassador for South Africa. It is, however, odd that Mbeki chooses a Bollywood actor as a brand ambassador instead of a South African or African. Kapoor is only known for his work as an actor and producer in the Indian film industry and had not done any other similar representative work either in South Africa, his native India or elsewhere. This type of recognition would have more substance if there he had previously worked for a South African cause or even similar causes elsewhere. The announcement appears to be desperate.

The notion of a 'global brand ambassador' is usually associated with a commercial brand and if Mbeki uses an actor/producer to promote the brand, he may intend to promote South Africa as a destination for the film industry. At the time that Anil Kapoor was appointed brand ambassador, he was producing the film, *Gandhi, my father*, in South Africa.

Mbeki unites the audience by reminding them of the significance of the first elections by quoting Nelson Mandela from his 1994 annual address to Parliament while at the same time aligning himself to the ethos of Mandela. The quote that he chooses calls on the public to define for 'ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny'¹⁶⁶, despite

¹⁶⁵ Appendix C, page 2, paragraph 5.

¹⁶⁶ Appendix C, page 2, paragraph 9.

South Africa's history. When he reiterates the call made by Mandela, he prefaces it with the suggestion that 'what the nation has done and not done during the years of the democratic epoch ...¹⁶⁷' allows him to make the call once again. Mbeki is essentially saying to his audience that the call made by Mandela is still valid despite the work that was done in the interim period. The assumption is that, if there is still a need to define how to proceed into the future considering the country's past, then either there has been a failure to do so or the manner in which it was done has not worked and therefore the call is still valid. Mbeki does not suggest that there has been any failure but instead he uses Mandela's quote to remind the audience of the purpose of the first democratic Government that was elected in 1994. It is a message that suggests that there is a need go back to the basics of what the Government stood for.

This appeal to the ethos of Mandela is maintained when he continues to quote Mandela extensively from his first address to Parliament when Mandela spoke about the tragic life of Ingrid Jonker and read a portion of one of her poems¹⁶⁸. This serves to remind the audience not only of the ethos of Mandela but also of the negative aspects of apartheid and in this way evoke the emotions that would have resulted in votes for the ANC in 1994. By establishing pathos, he is able to point out the importance of recognising that progress had been since then and in this way convince them to vote for the ANC again. This assumes that he is not only addressing the audience in the chamber but also the nation as he may perceive it.

This is the second annual address to Parliament in which Mbeki refers to the Ingrid Jonker and shared destiny quotes by Nelson Mandela. He used it in the annual address in February 2004 at the end of his first term as President and just before the national and provincial elections. It would appear that Mbeki feels that this particular reference works well as an emotional appeal about the past for voters to support the ruling party.

¹⁶⁷ Appendix C, page 2, paragraph 10.

¹⁶⁸ Appendix C, page 3, paragraphs 1-11.

In order to make the point that significant progress has been made, Mbeki uses a quote from Macbeth¹⁶⁹ and suggests in a rather unclear manner that:

‘Confronted by this historic challenge, I dare say that no one in our country can, like Shakespeare’s Macbeth, grieve that in the period since that distinguished son of our people, Nelson Mandela, delivered our first State of the Nation Address, all we can truthfully say, with Macbeth, about our country’s fate is: ...’¹⁷⁰

He assumes that his audience will be familiar with Macbeth and the significance of the quote. Clearly the purpose of these remarks for Mbeki is to unite the audience and illustrate the progress that has been achieved since Ingrid Jonker wrote the poem and since Nelson Mandela quoted her. The use of a Shakespearean character in a South African nation-building context does not work well and would not resonate with his audience outside the chamber either. In South Africa in 2006, Shakespeare was not part of popular culture of the nation, nor would it be commonly used by members of Parliament, officials, the media or any of the members of his audience as identified earlier. While this is a display of his level of sophistication and refinement, it may alienate him from his audience. Even if one were to presume that the audience would understand the significance of the quote of Macbeth, the sentence preceding it makes very little sense with regard to whether he was endorsing the quote or taking a contrary view. It is not very effective to have such an extensive quote only to refute it unless the quote has direct relevance.

With regard to the use of Macbeth, it is a strange choice because the play is a tragedy, characterised by power, greed and the betrayal of friends. The quote that Mbeki uses is part of Macbeth’s soliloquy¹⁷¹ when he hears about Lady Macbeth’s death and it captures his despair at hearing the news. Macbeth laments the tediousness of passing time and futility of everything that has happened until that point. It would appear that Mbeki uses this play and quote to simply indicate that as South Africans the changes that have been implemented to date has not been futile and has taken place at a relatively rapid pace.

¹⁶⁹ Appendix C, page 3, paragraph 14.

¹⁷⁰ Appendix C, page 3, paragraph 13.

¹⁷¹ Appendix C, page 3, paragraph 14.

Perhaps, his use of a quote from this play is to hint at the apparent greed and corruption of Jacob Zuma and the futility of his actions.

His attempts to link this quote to the changes in South Africa appears convoluted and confusing. He strings together a series of clichés such as ‘our country’s evolution away from its apartheid past seems to have moved at such a hectic pace...¹⁷², which is contradictory because evolution is a gradual process and therefore cannot move at a hectic pace. Similarly he uses the tautological phrase ‘chapters in an aging historical record of a distant past¹⁷³, to simply indicate that it belonged to the past.

Mbeki reiterates the idea that the democratic changes in the country have resulted in a future that is very different to that imagined by Macbeth in a long-winded manner by stating that ‘the age of democracy has given itself moral legitimacy by ensuring that Ingrid Jonker lives on, a heroine to all our people¹⁷⁴. He elevates the memory of Ingrid Jonker to the extent that it appears that she died in the fight for democracy. Her death at a young age was due to suicide and it is speculated that it was the result of personal problems, not in the struggle against apartheid¹⁷⁵ although it may have influenced her work and state of mind.

In paragraphs three and four on page four, Mbeki introduces the term ‘the age of democracy’ without an explanation of what it means and where it originates. It would appear from the context that what he essentially attempts to do with this term is to refer to the democratic period in South Africa. The use of the phrase in that manner makes it appear as if it is a known term such as the ‘age of reason’ or the ‘age of innocence’. This is also seen when he introduces one of the key themes of his speech i.e. the Age of Hope. The effect of referring to it as an ‘age’ makes it more difficult for the audience to relate to because the connotation of the word suggests a historical epoch rather than the current period. This sense of democracy as a period that has past is also illustrated when he refers to ‘the democratic *epoch* that have accumulated since Nelson Mandela delivered the first

¹⁷² Appendix C, page 4, paragraph 2.

¹⁷³ Appendix C, page 4, paragraph 2.

¹⁷⁴ Appendix C, page 4, paragraph 4.

¹⁷⁵ http://international.poetryinternationalweb.org/piw_cms/cms/cms_module/index.php?obj_id=11226.

State of the Nation Address¹⁷⁶. This clumsily formulated expression suggest an understanding of democracy as something that has been achieved (accumulated) rather than a system that is in use and is developed and refined.

In the following paragraph, he mentions to two 'seminal moments to which I have referred¹⁷⁷, but since there is no obvious previous reference to the events that he mentions, it may become confusing for the audience. It is possible that in a previous version of the speech there were such references. Mbeki reminds the audience of the two events i.e. the Codesa talks in 1991 and the adoption of the new Constitution in 1996 and quotes from the Codesa Declaration of Intent¹⁷⁸ and from the joint statement of the international observers¹⁷⁹ that were monitoring the proceedings in 1991. The quotes chosen are designed to demonstrate the extent of the changes that had to be introduced for the country to become democratic. He uses these quotes to indicate that the period since these statements were made was relatively short and he pre-empts any opposing views about the pace of change by noting that they knew that it would take a long time before there would be change¹⁸⁰. In making these supporting statements, Mbeki uses a series of clichés such as 'but fleeting moments in the life of nation'; 'unshackle our country from the heavy chains that tie us to its past'; 'eradicated the legacy of the past'¹⁸¹ and 'condemn us to a "petty pace" of progress'¹⁸². This last phrase is a reference to the Macbeth quote that he used earlier which assumes that the audience will understand the associations.

Having placed the difficult situation that South Africa was in prior to 1994 in context, and the challenges that faced it, Mbeki, uncharacteristically quotes a passage from the Book of Prophet Isaiah¹⁸³ to illustrate that despite the challenges that they faced, they had the blessings of higher powers. By appropriating the passage he assumes the authority of

¹⁷⁶ Appendix C, page 2, paragraph 10.

¹⁷⁷ Appendix C, page 4, paragraph 5.

¹⁷⁸ Appendix C, page 4, paragraph 7.

¹⁷⁹ Appendix C, page 4, paragraph 10.

¹⁸⁰ Appendix C, page 4, paragraph 12.

¹⁸¹ Appendix C, page 4, paragraphs 11 and 12.

¹⁸² Appendix C, page 5, paragraph 1.

¹⁸³ Appendix C, page 5, paragraph 3.

a higher power and patronisingly exalts the audience. His use of a passage from the Bible appeals to the Christians in the audience and portrays a particular moral attitude. This display of morality indicates that he has Christian values may also be seen as an ethical appeal to endear himself to those members of the audience who would have taken a strong principled view of the allegations against the previous Deputy President. This can be seen as a means of justifying his actions of firing Jacob Zuma.

The choice of prophet Isaiah is interesting as he is referred to as the messianic prophet who prophesises the coming of the saviour. Mbeki may in this way cast himself in the role of the saviour of the country. This is apparent in the deliberative tone that the speech has: the country has experience a long period of oppression; there was a clear sense that in order to address the effects of the past, it would require a great deal of effort; despite these obstacles, conditions were proving to be favourable for South Africa. The fact that he repeats the passage in an indigenous language indicates that the passage is so important that it must be repeated and in a language that the majority of members of the nation can relate to.

While Mbeki points out that a great deal has been achieved since Mandela delivered his first State of the Nation Address and that more will be done, he again reminds the audience of the country's violent past by quoting the 1992 chairperson of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid¹⁸⁴. It is interesting that he does not mention the name the 'then chairperson' but simply refers to him. Unlike the previous quote by the representatives of the 'important international organisations'¹⁸⁵ and the subsequent quote from a report by Amnesty International¹⁸⁶, this quote is not attributed to a group or organisation but to an individual. The chairperson being referred to is Ibrahim Gambari, who is Mbeki contemporary and in many respects there are similarities between the two men. Gambari is an African who is considered an intellectual and has achieved the status of being an international statesman. In fact, Gambari was appointed as the Under

¹⁸⁴ Appendix C, page 5, paragraph 9.

¹⁸⁵ Appendix C, page 4, paragraph 9.

¹⁸⁶ Appendix C, page 6, paragraph 1.

Secretary-General for Political Affairs at the UN in June 2005¹⁸⁷. This could be seen as a strange effort not to recognise the status of Gambari or his role in the transition to democracy in the early 1990s.

He counterbalances the sentiment in the quote by reassuring the audience that things are very different currently and uses the cliché that ‘yesterday was another country’¹⁸⁸ to make the point. While the use of that cliché to counter the statement about the level of violence and the number of deaths and may serve to illustrate the extent of the changes brought about by the new Government, it also appears to suggest that those deaths were in vain. For those members of the audience who experienced the losses, it may seem to belittle the cause that those who died believed in by saying that they died ‘needlessly’¹⁸⁹. It must be remembered that many organisations continued to fight for their ideals until the elections in 1994 when they eventually ended their armed struggle.

He repeats the approach of quoting a negative statement from the past and then reassuring the audience about how much change has taken place. He quotes a segment from the Amnesty International (USA) 2006 Annual Report on South Africa that lists some of the areas of concern in South Africa¹⁹⁰. He counters this in a manner that suggests that the international community’s concerns were unnecessary with the use of phrases such as ‘found it *necessary* to appeal to all our people’; the peoples of the world *could* have reiterated their concern’ and ‘break free from the *uncertainty* about a bright future’¹⁹¹. The implication of his response to the concerns that were raised was that it was inevitable that the country attain would democracy and that once this took place, the violence ended. This patronising attitude seems to disregard the intensity of the beliefs that those who died for their beliefs as well as the complex political factors that existed in country at the time and assumes that the audience does not remember the reality.

¹⁸⁷ <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2005/sga928.doc.htm>.

¹⁸⁸ Appendix C, page 5, paragraph 11.

¹⁸⁹ Appendix C, page 5, paragraph 11.

¹⁹⁰ Appendix C, page 6, paragraph 2.

¹⁹¹ Appendix C, page 6, paragraphs 3-5.

As further support for his assertion that the situation had improved markedly, he makes a logical appeal and quotes a series of recent surveys¹⁹² that were conducted and that showed that in terms of public opinion, there was a great deal of optimism about the future. In a somewhat patronising manner, he asserts that the ‘people are firmly convinced that our country has entered its Age of Hope’. He places himself in the position to be able to speak on behalf of the people of the country and moreover is able to name this period on their behalf. Continuing in this assumed ethical manner, he continues to speak on behalf of the people and again appropriates the quote from the Book of Isaiah that indicates that they are blessed.

Before repeating the quote from the Book of the Isaiah, he notes that ‘[T]hrough our *national effort* they can see the relevance to our situation of God’s blessings communicated in the Book of the Prophet Isaiah¹⁹³, but there is no indication of what the ‘national effort’ relates to. Mbeki mentions the ‘national effort’ an additional six times¹⁹⁴ in the speech in a clumsy effort to create national unity and patriotism. In many of the instances, the phrase seems to be added as if to fill out the statement. He seems to be articulating the idea of ‘united national action’ and it would have suited the speech much better had he tailored this idea to suit the specific parts of the speech where he chose to use it in or if there was an actual united effort around a particular issue.

Mbeki repeats the ‘shared destiny’ quote by Mandela when he thanks the people for having responded to the call in 1994. He backs this statement up by confirming that ‘[M]illions’ responded and confirms it with the phrase that, as a result of this, ‘today is better than yesterday, and we are confident that tomorrow will be better than today.’¹⁹⁵. Despite this positive statement, and a second reference to the ‘Age of Hope’¹⁹⁶, Mbeki repeats the Mandela quote again¹⁹⁷ as an appeal to the people of South Africa. This repetition of the same quote, which refers essentially to deciding about the future, a few

¹⁹² Appendix C, page 6, paragraphs 6-9.

¹⁹³ Appendix C, page 7, paragraph 1.

¹⁹⁴ Appendix C, page 7, paragraph 9; page 12, paragraphs 6&8; page 14, paragraph 10; page 15, paragraph 9; page 18, paragraph 1.

¹⁹⁵ Appendix C, page 7, paragraph 6.

¹⁹⁶ Appendix C, page 7, paragraph 7.

¹⁹⁷ Appendix C, page 7, paragraph 9.

times could be linked to the elections and thus urging the voters to think very carefully about the choices that they make or alternatively, he could be suggesting that in light of the political changes that have taken place that it is a good time to re-evaluate the future of the ANC as a party. While Mbeki had refuted the possibility of changing the Constitution of the country at the time to allow him to serve a third term as President, the issue of continuing to serve as the president of the ANC had begun to surface in light of the scandal associated with the deputy president, Jacob Zuma who would have been his likely successor as president of the ANC and the country.

He mentions the 'Age of Hope' twice more and continues the appeal to logos by citing more statistical evidence to reinforce the positive strides that the Government has made and lists several challenges¹⁹⁸ that he draws as messages from the surveys. As a response to these areas identified for development, he introduces the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (Asgisa) and announces the fact that this initiative is being led by the Deputy President. It is significant that he mentions the Deputy President by name when making the announcement because in all his previous annual addresses to Parliament, he had only acknowledged the previous Deputy President in his exordium and only once by name in 2002 to explain his absence in the Chamber due to an international engagement. In the 1999 speech, he referred to work done by the Office of the Deputy President which, considering that it was his first annual address was his office until about a month before the speech. By naming her as being responsible for the new initiative, he is indicating a confidence in the ethos of the person and not only the office. In this way he is also able to further justify his decision to remove Jacob Zuma. He highlights the confidence he has in new Deputy President when he refers to her work with the three spheres of Government and the fact that they have 'been working together for some months now'¹⁹⁹ on this initiative. It must be remembered at the time that the speech was delivered; Mlambo-Ngcuka had only been in office for less than eight months. Mbeki uses a quote the Business Day of January 2006 in order to support his

¹⁹⁸ Appendix C, page 8, paragraphs 6-11.

¹⁹⁹ Appendix C, page 9, paragraph 2.

argument that Asgisa will work. This use of an independent expert serves to give credibility to the initiative.

Despite the fact Mbeki acknowledges that it is the 90th anniversary of the establishment of the University Fort Hare as part of the list of initiatives to give effect to Asgisa, he does not elaborate on the significance of the institution but rather simply groups it together with all other tertiary institutions in South Africa. Besides being the oldest Black university, its alumni includes people such as Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Govan Mbeki, Chris Hani and Robert Sobukwe²⁰⁰. This lack of recognition of an important African institution that was often a source of resistance activity during the apartheid years stands in sharp contrast to his Eurocentric quotes from Shakespeare.

Mbeki continues with the litany of initiatives and appeals to logos when he backs up his statement that 'the social wage plays a vital role in our continuing efforts to address the challenges of poverty'²⁰¹. He does this by quoting positive statistics from a study by Borat, Van der Westhuizen and Naidoo. This use of statistics and academic study suggests to the audience that there is independent evidence of the positive effects of the grant system. It must be pointed out that at the time that the speech was delivered, the paper entitled, 'Shifts in Non-Income Welfare in South Africa: 1993-2004', had not been published yet. According to the Development Policy Research Unit website, the date of publication was May 2006²⁰². As this information was not in the public domain, it would leave the audience with very little choice but to accept his statement.

Among the initiatives that Mbeki deals with is the HIV/Aids problem facing South Africa and despite the severity of the issue, he only devotes two sentences to the issue that talks about what has been achieved to date rather than plans to address the spread of the disease.

Mbeki spells out the plans for land reform in detail and aligns himself to the ethos of Bambata who led an uprising in KwaZulu-Natal against the poll tax that forced Africans

²⁰⁰ <http://www.studysa.co.za/contentpage.aspx?pageid=4173>.

²⁰¹ Appendix C, page 13, paragraph 11.

²⁰² http://www.commerce.uct.ac.za/Research_Units/DPRU/WorkingPapers/wp.asp?WP_ID=2006/108.

off the land. He quotes a Zulu poem that praises the strength of Bambata and compares him to lightning²⁰³. It refers to how he ‘tamed’ the colonialists. By speaking in an indigenous language and using this specific praise, he is appealing to those Zulu-speaking members of the audience who feel strongly about the issue of land. It must be borne in mind that the ANC lost to the IFP in KwaZulu-Natal in the 2000 local Government elections²⁰⁴ and this could be seen as an appeal to the voters in this province who are largely Zulu-speaking.

This reference to Bambata also reminds the audience about the emotion that is associated with the land. The manner in which land redistribution had been dealt with to date had limited success and the Government had embarked on a new approach in 2005²⁰⁵. This approach is designed to appease those members of the audience who have a stake in this issue by indicating that he is taking it so seriously that he invokes the passion of Bambata.

When Mbeki discusses the Government’s strategy for dealing with crime and corruption, he is distant and detached when he says ‘the Government will remain focused on the challenge to fight corruption in the public sector and in society at large. We will continue to intensify our offensive on this front, fully aware of the fact that much that happens in our society encourages the entrenchment of a value system based on personal acquisition of wealth by all means and at all costs.’²⁰⁶. He wastes the opportunity to unite the audience, including the members of Parliament and the society that he is referring to, by addressing this matter so formally when he could have spoken to the nation more directly about the values that they should adopt and the effects of corrupt practices on ordinary people.

He squanders an opportunity to unite the audience again when he addresses the hosting of the Fifa Soccer World Cup in 2010. He addresses this issue using a range of odd clichés

²⁰³ Translation and interpretation courtesy of Hansard Translations Unit, Parliament of South Africa.

²⁰⁴ www.eisa.org.za/WEP/sou200results2kn.htm.

²⁰⁵ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4720023.stm>; http://land.pwv.gov.za/Land_Summit/.

²⁰⁶ Appendix C, page 16, paragraph 5.

such as ‘will come to its triumphant end’²⁰⁷, which not only assumes that Germany will host it successfully but misses the point that any sports tournament ends with a triumph for one team or player. By doing this, he disrespects the intelligence of the audience and comes across as patronising. He suggests that the ‘nation must bend every effort’²⁰⁸, and ‘we must ensure that we work full steam ahead’²⁰⁹. This would have been an ideal opportunity for him to remind the nation of the values that they hold as Africans such as Ubuntu and how they must ensure that when they host the 2010 Soccer World Cup they display all these and other unique qualities. Instead he reverts to the cliché of how everything that Government does, relates to improving the conditions of the people when he says:

‘The 2010 Soccer World Cup will make an important contribution to our effort to accelerate our progress towards the achievement of the goal of a better life for our people. Similarly, as an African Soccer World Cup, it will give additional impetus to our struggle to achieve Africa’s renaissance.’²¹⁰

Mbeki concludes his speech by referring to South Africa’s engagements on the African continent and internationally and includes a statement commemorating the centenary of Satyagraha by Gandhi and the 30th anniversary of the death of Samora Machel²¹¹. These two events serve to remind the audience about South Africa’s turbulent past as well as to reinforce the relationships with those countries bearing in mind that Mbeki had recognised Graca Machel, Ela Gandhi and Anil Kapoor at the start of his speech. These statements allow Mbeki to list his achievements as an international statesman and on the continent.

In his final comments Mbeki once again speaks on behalf ‘the masses of our people’²¹², who he decides are convinced that they have entered the ‘Age of Hope’ without providing a justification for the statement. He suggests in a very long-winded convoluted

²⁰⁷ Appendix C, page 16, paragraph 6.

²⁰⁸ Appendix C, page 16, paragraph 7.

²⁰⁹ Appendix C, page 16, paragraph 8.

²¹⁰ Appendix C, page 16, paragraph 10.

²¹¹ Appendix C, page 17, paragraph 5.

²¹² Appendix C, page 17, paragraph 7.

manner that they are looking forward to being free of the legacy of their past. To describe this he says:

‘They believe that the country they love, their only homeland, will not disappoint their expectation of an accelerated advance towards the day when they will be liberated from the suffocating tentacles of the legacy of colonialism and apartheid.’²¹³

This image suggests that the people of South Africa has not made much progress and are held back by their past. If the general message in his speech is that this is a new period of hope and that they have God’s blessings when he quotes the Prophet Isaiah at the end again, then the above description is too negative.

In this speech Mbeki takes a patronising view of the South African context by looking at the changes and current period from a distant vantage point where he refers to time periods as epochs or in the case of one of the main themes, the Age of Hope. The speech is characterised by a combination of epideictic and deliberative rhetoric. His exordium is relatively long in which he acknowledges the ethos of a wide range of important persons and points to the progress made by the country since 1994. The epideictic form is continued with the repeated quotes of a passage from the Book of the Prophet Isaiah. The speech is deliberative when Mbeki lists the initiatives that will be undertaken the following year and as part of Asgisa. He uses an ethical appeal to a large extent and backs up the statements on the progress made since 1994 with appeals to logos. Mbeki appears to be relatively patronising in his approach in this speech and this is evident in the way that he makes declarations on behalf of the people rather than addressing them.

²¹³ Appendix C, page 17, paragraph 7.

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The 2008 speech was delivered after the ANC's historic Polokwane national conference that was characterised by a great deal of acrimony and in-fighting. The period preceding the conference saw ANC members being divided in terms of loyalty between Mbeki who was seeking a third term as the president of the organisation and Jacob Zuma who had been the party's deputy president for two terms and was vying for the position of president. The conference chose new leaders that were overwhelmingly Zuma supporters while Mbeki and his supporters were ousted from their positions on the executive committee. This speech was delivered by Mbeki in the context of having lost the battle for the leadership position but while still being the President of the country.

Mbeki starts the speech in a very positive epideictic manner by wishing the Members of Parliament a 'happy and productive New Year'²¹⁴, and expresses confidence that it will be 'one of the most remarkable years of our democracy'²¹⁵. Having made those encouraging statements, he provides grounds for the statements by suggesting that 'it is not often that a nation is called upon to strain every sinew of its collective body to attain a dream'²¹⁶. He is clearly asking the audience (MPs) to put in extra effort this year to realise the goals for a better life. It is interesting that he notes that 'it is not often' without explaining what was unique about the timing. He does not explain why the nation would have to 'strain every sinew' and so it is therefore left to the audience to assume that it relates to the changes in political leadership that took place two months before. While it is clear that his term as leader of the ANC has ended and that his term as leader of the country will be over soon as well, there seems to be the assumption that the changes have been so drastic that the nation will have to work extremely hard in order to still be able to realise their dreams. If one assumes that his statements are not simply introspective, he could also be referring to the subprime mortgage crisis that had started in US. At the time of his speech, however, it had not affected the South African markets.

²¹⁴ Appendix D, page 1 paragraph 7.

²¹⁵ Appendix D, page 1, paragraph 8.

²¹⁶ Appendix D, page 1, paragraph 8.

Mbeki makes an emotional appeal to the audience by referring to the presence of his mother in the audience and 'the unequivocal message from the rural masses of the Transkei, among whom she has lived for many decades'²¹⁷. The audience will therefore see Mbeki as a loyal son who clearly comes from a humble background in the rural areas and whose mother continues to live there. He portrays himself as a common person through his association with his mother.

He also uses his mother and her rural community to question the ethics of the new leadership when the message that she brings is ask those 'who claim to be their leaders, that we tell them and others like them elsewhere in our country, whether we remain committed to the undertaking we have made that tomorrow will be better than today'²¹⁸. He questions the authority of the leadership by talking about 'those who claim to be their leaders' rather than a reference that recognises them as the leaders. He also questions their intentions of the new leadership by asking whether they remain committed to the goals that Mbeki and his Government had set. The phrase 'tomorrow will be better than today' was used in Mbeki's annual address in 2006²¹⁹. He makes a further emotional appeal but combines it with an ethical questioning of the current circumstances when he informs the audience that his mother would be celebrating her birthday soon and that as a birthday present, she wants the 'truth'²²⁰. While he indicates that he hopes that she will not be disappointed, he does not clarify what truth is being referred to in his statement. It is possible that in light of the newly elected ANC president, Jacob Zuma, being charged with corruption in December 2007 just after the national conference, that he was referring to this situation.

After acknowledging the presence of his mother, Mbeki recognises some of the other dignitaries in the audience including Nelson Mandela, Arthur Magerman, Jann Turner and Dinilesizwe Sobukwe. He concludes these acknowledgements with the following statement:

²¹⁷ Appendix D, page 2, paragraph 1.

²¹⁸ Appendix D, page 2, paragraph 1.

²¹⁹ Appendix D, page 7, paragraph 6.

²²⁰ Appendix D, page 2, paragraph 1.

‘All these honoured guests, representing both memory and hope, remind us by their presence that ours is a task in a relay race of continuous rebirth so that the dream of a better life becomes a reality for all South Africans. Indeed, they represent a celebration of the indomitable spirit of our people, and pose a challenge to all of us to act in ways that do not betray or disappoint the expectations of the people.’²²¹

The formulation of ‘memory and hope’ is strange and it may be possible that he wanted to suggest that some of them represent the memories of the past and the children of the struggle heroes represent their hopes that they had for the future. It becomes more difficult to understand when it is combined with the image of a relay race of continuous rebirth. The one is a series of independent stages and the other is described as continuous. The description is a convoluted way of saying that as in a relay race, each person starts the race afresh and so it is akin to rebirth. The last sentence in the paragraph about the ‘indomitable spirit of our people’ suggests that Mbeki is trying to say that the spirit of the past will continue to shape the future and that those taking the fight forward will continue from where it was left off. He issues an ethical challenge once more for ‘all of us to act in ways that do not betray or disappoint the expectations of the people’. This confusing paragraph may possibly be Mbeki indicating that he has not given up the fight yet and that it may possibly be taken forward by others.

When Mbeki starts dealing with the assessment of Government’s position he says that ‘Government has therefore reviewed the *distance we have travelled* (my emphasis) in terms of implementing the mandate given by the people in 2004²²²’ which suggests a sense of hardship rather than simply referring to the progress made thus far. He also uses the word ‘mandate’ thrice in paragraph 6 and 7 indicating that he has the authority to act. When he discusses the Apex priorities, he prefaces it with the word ‘[H]appily²²³’ which does not fit in with the nature of the topic. Is he happy that he is still in a position to make the announcement or does he simply mean that he is pleased or proud to make the announcement? The fact that Mbeki refers to the initiatives as ‘Apex priorities’ is also worth examining considering that apex refers to the top or peak but not only is this is the

²²¹ Appendix D, page 2, paragraph 5.

²²² Appendix D, page 2, paragraph 6.

²²³ Appendix D, page 2, paragraph 8.

end of his the term but he finds himself in the position of being a lame-duck President as well.

Mbeki indicates that Government has committed itself to the 'imperative: Business Unusual! We speak of Business Unusual not referring to any changes in our established policies, but with regard to the speedy, efficient and effective implementation of these policies and programmes, so that the lives of our people should change for the better, sooner rather than later.'²²⁴ The use of the word imperative is interesting because it suggests the notion of Kant's categorical imperative that this is a moral necessity. There is the rush to complete projects started in 2004 'sooner rather than later' as indicated by his references to his mandate earlier. His approach suggests that the next Government will be completely new and there won't be continuity. The relay race that he refers to earlier is absent in the manner in which he views his 2004 mandate and the future Government. It must be noted that the imperative that he refers to had existed for some time and while he makes the clichéd statement of achieving the 'all-important goal of a better life for all our people'²²⁵, there is no indication of why this goal has become more important.

This sense of urgency is continued in the following claim:

'More than at any other time, the situation that confronts our nation and country, and the tasks we have set ourselves, demand that we inspire and organise all our people to act together as one, to do all the things that have to be done, understanding that in a very real sense, all of us, together, hold our own future in our hands!'²²⁶

He does not indicate which situation he is referring to but by noting both 'nation and country' he suggests that this affects both the people and the political entity. If, as suggested earlier he was referring to the economic crisis, it would not affect the nation. He also does not clarify why it is this situation is worse now than at any other time. The phrase 'hold our own future in our hands' is the type of persuasive statement that would

²²⁴ Appendix D, page 3, paragraph 2.

²²⁵ Appendix D, page 3, paragraph 1.

²²⁶ Appendix D, page 3, paragraph 4.

normally be made in an election year and it is therefore unclear what he expects to achieve other than to suggest that the implications of the political changes that have taken place are so great that the nation is under threat.

His following statement that leads him to quote the opening lines from *A Tale of Two Cities* continues with the suggestion that the country is in a dire situation:

‘As I was preparing this address, one among us suggested to me that our country was being buffeted by strong cross winds that made it especially difficult to foresee where our country would be tomorrow. He suggested that to capture what he considered the essence of the reality confronting us this morning, I should recall the well-known words with which Charles Dickens opened his novel, *A Tale of Two Cities*. And so I quote these words:²²⁷

The comment that ‘one among us’ made the suggestion about the cross winds and the reminder about the quote implies a sense of conspiratorial action and is sufficiently vague for it to be anyone. The notion that the cross winds made it difficult to foresee ‘where our country would be tomorrow’ raises the question about who in the audience he is addressing. It is possible that he is talking to his supporters that lost to Jacob Zuma or perhaps more directly to the nation as the broader audience and thereby attacking the credibility of the new leadership by suggesting that their ascendance has led to uncertainty. He seems to be asserting a moral superiority and expressing concern about the ability of the new leaders to manage the task of running the country. The cross winds may also be referring to the ongoing disputes about Jacob Zuma’s future and whether he would be able to be President of the country, the Directorate of Special Operations and comments attacking the judiciary made by some ANC members.

Even though he refutes the relevance of the passage²²⁸, it is interesting that he quotes it extensively. The themes of the novel deal with resurrection and opposites and this may be one of the reasons that he includes the long quote. In weighing up the opposites, he can to remind the audience that he can rise again and that he is the opposite of the new

²²⁷ Appendix D, page 3, paragraph 5.

²²⁸ Appendix D, page 3, paragraph 8.

leadership. While the quote contains a great deal of opposites and the sentiments are clear, the use of Dickens to make point about redemption and rebirth assumes that the audience will understand its relevance with regard to the underlying messages. Taking into account the cultural, particularly the language, background of the majority of the audience in the chamber and those who may be listening in the rest of the country, the relevance of the passage of Dickens would not be recognised except by those who had attained a particular level of education.

This refutation is interesting because up to that point, the speech had already noted that this was a difficult time for the country but now he is confirming that there was no need to be 'fearful of the future'²²⁹. He makes it clear, however, that his confidence in the future is based on the foundation that was laid over the past 14 years which allows him to avoid endorsing the new leadership.

Despite the indication that he is not uneasy about the future, he acknowledges that there are 'many in our society'²³⁰ who have concerns and he proceeds on behalf of this group to list the concerns. Among the concerns listed he includes the disruptions to electricity supply²³¹, economic concerns²³², the violence that result in six passenger trains being burnt²³³, the threat to the democratic and constitutional institutions²³⁴, and the issues of the ruling party²³⁵.

With regard to the concerns about democratic and constitutional institutions, some of these are as a result of the decisions that he has made as President yet he uses the opportunity to claim that there is a great deal of uneasiness about this. He does this by combining this with the concern about the threat to the independence of the judiciary. The ANC had produced a discussion document looking at the transformation of the judiciary that was tabled at the 52nd conference at Polokwane²³⁶ and there had been public

²²⁹ Appendix D, page 3, paragraph 7.

²³⁰ Appendix D, page 4, paragraph 2.

²³¹ Appendix D, page 4, paragraph 2.

²³² Appendix D, page 4, paragraph 3.

²³³ Appendix D, page 4, paragraph 5.

²³⁴ Appendix D, page 4, paragraph 4.

²³⁵ Appendix D, page 4, paragraph 6.

²³⁶ <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/policy/2007/discussion/transformation.html>.

disagreements between the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court and the new ANC leadership about the role of the judiciary²³⁷.

While not doing it overtly, Mbeki is able to use the speech to raise his disagreements with the ANC as part of general concerns of a particular unidentified group. It is important to note that he elevates these concerns by noting that 'it would be irresponsible to ignore these and other concerns or dismiss them as mere jeremiads typical of the prophets of doom'²³⁸. This is a different attitude to the one that he adopted in 2004 when he said 'I notice that the traditional doomsayers are back at their favourite sport of trying to frighten us with scarecrows. ... The masses of our people sacrificed everything to achieve peace and democracy for all of us. These masses will not allow that desperate politicians do desperate things to win or retain power for themselves.'²³⁹

Mbeki again indicates his wavering attitude towards the future when he suggests how to deal with the concerns being raised because while he advises that they remain 'firm in our resolve to continue building the kind of South Africa', he also says 'that this historical moment demands that our nation should unite as never before and strain every sinew of its collective body to address our common challenges.'²⁴⁰ There is a sense that the goals that South Africa had been working towards are being threatened and this requires the 'collective body to strain every sinew' to 'keep alive the dream'. The sense of urgency is noted in the use of the phrase 'this historical moment demands...' although he does not explain what this means.

There is a contradiction in what he is saying because while he indicated earlier in the speech that he did not agree that the country has lost its way, he lists a series of concerns and points out that they should be dealt with as valid. He advises that they remain firm which would imply that they continue in the manner that they have been but then also calls on the nation to 'strain every sinew' and 'unite as never before' to protect its future.

²³⁷ Citizen, P6, 08/01/2008; The Star, P10, 11/01/2008; Financial Mail, P59, 11/01/2008; Citizen, P3, 16/01/2008; Sunday Independent, P2, 20/01/2008; Sunday Independent, P8, 20/01/2008.

²³⁸ Appendix D, page 4, paragraph 7.

²³⁹ President Mbeki's Annual Address to Parliament, page 11, paragraph 4, 6 February 2004.

²⁴⁰ Appendix D, page 4, paragraph 7.

There is no indication from Mbeki why it would be imperative that this juncture to put in the extra effort and as the only change thus far has been the change in the leadership of the ANC.

Mbeki seems to be questioning the ability of the new leaders to continue with the plans that he had implemented but since he is unable to do this openly, he disguises it as a general sense of unease. It would be expected of Mbeki to endorse the new leaders and to call on the nation to support them in the way that he had been supported but there is a glaring absence of this in the speech. It would also have been expected of him to refute the media speculation about the divisions in the ANC since the Polokwane conference but instead he fuels the sense of unease.

Mbeki uses the ethos of Cynthia Carroll²⁴¹ to deal with the issue of the electricity supply problems when he quotes her statements made earlier that week about finding solutions to the problem rather than pointing fingers. By quoting the Chief Executive Officer of one of the largest South African companies which is also listed on the London Stock Exchange, he is persuading those members of the audience that form part of the business community that the situation can be remedied. Ms Carroll's quote has gravitas not only because she compares South Africa to other developing countries but because she is an internationally respected businessperson who is listed as the seventh most powerful woman in the world by Forbes magazine.

Having assured the business people listening to the speech, Mbeki apologises to the nation on behalf of the Government and of Eskom and thanks them for their 'resilience and forbearance in the face of the current difficulties'²⁴² before proceeding to explain how the problem arose. This humble approach has a great deal of ethical appeal because he acknowledges the importance of the nation before he makes a logical argument with regard to the causes²⁴³. It is also important to note that in terms of the explanation, he does not use it to as an excuse to defend Eskom or the Government. He further elevates the nation, when he says 'we remain open to any suggestions that you, our compatriots,

²⁴¹ Appendix D, page 5, paragraphs 2 & 3.

²⁴² Appendix D, page 5, paragraph 4.

²⁴³ Appendix D, page 5, paragraphs 5-7.

may give to us and share with one another'. This is a significance change in his approach because when he apologises and speaks directly to the nation, he defers to them. It is also significant that the outline of the electricity crisis is done with as if he is taking nation into his confidence when asking for their assistance. The language that he uses is candid and he speaks directly to the issue which is in contrast to his normal style of convoluted phrases.

The difference in tone between the manner in which Mbeki deals with the electricity problem and the tone of the rest of the speech is could be an indication that he decided to use this challenge as an issue around which to unite the nation. It must be noted that the section of the speech that deals with the electricity emergency not only appeals to the country as the domestic users of electricity but it also addresses the representative business²⁴⁴ that rely on electricity. He uses this opportunity to reassure investors that the problem is temporary and that solutions are ready to be implemented. Mbeki describes the problem an emergency and only uses the word 'crisis' in relation to the severe electricity supply problems that were experienced on 24 January 2008. It must be remembered that the mining industry which is one of the biggest contributors to the South African economy relies on electricity to operate and the period just prior to the speech witnessed this industry being severely affected. This may further explain why a quote by Cynthia Carroll would be important in terms of ethos. Mbeki displays the qualities of honesty and competence when dealing with this issue and thereby portrays himself as a leader with ethics and standards.

This difference in tone is also possible because it is likely that this portion of the speech was drafted by someone who was more directly involved with the energy problems. Mbeki returns to his clichéd phrases when this topic is concluded and he proceeds to the Fifa 2010 World Cup Soccer tournament. This reversion to more complicated language is immediate as he makes the concluding remarks on the electricity emergency as is illustrated below:

²⁴⁴ Appendix D, page 6, paragraph 2.

‘Let us therefore use this emergency to put in place the first building blocks of the essential energy-efficient future we dare not avoid. Let us ensure that all hands are on deck to address the turbulence that has hit us, inspired by the approach that our circumstances call for Business Unusual!’²⁴⁵

Despite the return to formulaic phrases, Mbeki deals with the hosting of the Soccer World Cup in a manner that is positive and he reassures the members of the audience that may be part of the Fifa organising body, by noting that:

‘Of course, I have absolutely no doubt that we will honour our undertakings to Fifa and the world community of soccer players and lovers to create all the necessary conditions for the holding of the best-ever Fifa Soccer World Cup tournament.’²⁴⁶

When dealing with issue of preparations for South Africans, he acknowledges the progress made by again using two catchphrases that he introduced in this speech, ‘Business Unusual: All hands on deck’²⁴⁷. While the approach is a positive one, it is not clear who precisely he is acknowledging with this phrase other than a vague notion of ‘all sectors of South African society and further afield’²⁴⁸. He does, however, make a more direct emotional appeal when he acknowledges the task ahead for the national soccer team and follows this by thanking the South African rugby team for winning the World Cup in 2007. His ability to evoke humour at this point allows him to appeal to the sports enthusiasts in the audience by displaying a common interest.

Mbeki proceeds to list the Apex priorities that include areas such as plans for industrialisation, mining, the automotive sector, infrastructure, communications technology, improvement of administrative processes, development of skills, eradicating poverty, providing housing and land. When he addresses the issue of dealing with poverty, he refers to ‘our War on Poverty’²⁴⁹, and a ‘national war room for a war against poverty’²⁵⁰. It is strange that he uses militaristic language in order to specify how poverty

²⁴⁵ Appendix D, page 7, paragraph 1.

²⁴⁶ Appendix D, page 7, paragraph 3.

²⁴⁷ Appendix D, page 7, paragraph 4.

²⁴⁸ Appendix D, page 7, paragraph 4.

²⁴⁹ Appendix D, page 8, paragraph 9.

²⁵⁰ Appendix D, page 9, paragraph 8.

will be dealt with. It is either an indication of how strongly he feels about the issue or it is an indication of that he is adopting a fighting stance in general.

The notion of a war room suggests that a concerted strategy is required to plan the battle and manage the strategy which in light of the fact that Mbeki has about a year left in his term of office without the prospect of coming back it appears to be a desperate strategy. He concedes that the approach taken thus far had not produced the desired results when he notes:

‘But we will all agree that our society, and the poor specifically, cannot wait for strategies and dialogues and workshops – important as these may be. In any case, most of the interventions possible are things that Government is already doing, though not sufficiently integrated.’²⁵¹

Through this intervention, Mbeki reiterates the urgency to deal with the issue as soon as possible. He does not indicate what the factors are that contribute to this sense of urgency for example, the increase in food prices, inflation, the credit crisis and the impression that is created is that he must put in place all the components to secure his legacy before he loses his position.

Mbeki lists a range of other Government interventions that have a great deal of overlap with the Apex priorities and concludes this portion of the speech in typical Mbeki clichéd fashion through the following appeal to the audience: ‘As we put all our hands on deck and gear ourselves for Business Unusual, we should also intensify national dialogue on the issues that define us as a nation’²⁵². He mentions two issues that relate to the definition of the nation which are the Youth Pledge to be recited by learners in the mornings and the start of the process to address geographic and place names. Both these issues are contentious as they assume a single united nation and this assumption of a nation stands in contrast to his comments in the 1999 annual address when he spoke about the process of defining the nation²⁵³. These initiatives once again seem like eleventh-hour attempts at building patriotism as his term ends.

²⁵¹ Appendix D, page 9, paragraph 7.

²⁵² Appendix D, page 10, paragraph 9.

²⁵³ Appendix A, page 3, paragraph 1.

He uses the phrase ‘extolling the virtues of *humane* conduct’²⁵⁴ when discussing the Youth Pledge which implies a level on uncivilized behaviour that they have to be taught the importance of being humane.

Mbeki deals with the decision of the ANC Polokwane conference to disband the Directorate of Special Operations (the Scorpions) as part of the initiatives on the criminal justice system. When he addresses the role of this unit, he uses the following vague statement:

‘Informed by the imperative to intensify the offensive against organised crime, as well as the recommendations of the Khampepe Judicial Commission on the functioning and the location of the Directorate of Special Operations and continuing reflections on this matter – including the reform of the criminal justice system - we shall by the end of March this year interact with Parliament on legislation and other decisive measures required further to enhance our capacity to fight organised crime.’²⁵⁵

This vagueness appears to challenge the fact that the ANC had issued statements²⁵⁶ with regard to the decision to disband the unit. By noting that there will be ‘continuing reflections on the matter’, he implies that a final decision has not been taken yet and that it is still being discussed. This ambiguousness is further emphasised when he says that ‘by the end of March this year interact with Parliament on legislation and other decisive measures’ with ‘interact’ and ‘other decisive measures’ being vague. It would appear that despite the fact that his party had taken a decision, he was not willing to comply without asserting his authority as the head of the Executive. His reference to the Khampepe Commission is part of this assertion of his authority because he had established the commission of enquiry that found that the legislation establishing the Scorpions was not in conflict with the Constitution and that it could remain as part of the National Prosecuting Authority but the ANC took a different decision.

²⁵⁴ Appendix D, page 10, paragraph 10.

²⁵⁵ Appendix D, page 11, paragraph 7.

²⁵⁶ <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/policy/2007/conference/peace.html>. & ANC Today, Volume 8, No.3, 25-31 January 2008.

There is a sense of irony about Mbeki dealing with the topic of the disbanding of this unit in what is to be his last speech because he had made the announcement of this elite unit in his first annual address to Parliament in 1999.

Mbeki's conclusion on the initiatives relating to the criminal justice system seems to be an appeal to the audience to respect the authority of the law but he also uses the opportunity to criticise the new leaders in the ANC when he says:

'Of great importance, our success in the fight against crime depends on co-operation among all of us as law-abiding citizens. inspired by the principles of the rule of law, respect for our judiciary and the pursuit of equal human rights, which our Constitution enjoins us to observe in our daily lives and pronouncements.'²⁵⁷

His call for 'respect for our judiciary' must be seen in light of the ruling party and its alliance partners' criticism of the judiciary as noted earlier. It is interesting that he refers to 'equal' human rights in light of the fact that the alliance partners felt that Jacob Zuma should not be charged with corruption. He also refers to the importance of the Constitution in terms of 'pronouncements' and is effectively cautioning against the types of statements that were being made.

Mbeki continues to mention other initiatives such as improving the public service, specifically in terms of vacancies, performance agreements and the department of Home Affairs. He then concludes his speech by referring to the work being done in the region, on the continent and globally. In the final few paragraphs of his speech when he backs up the following statement about South Africa's global responsibilities²⁵⁸, he reiterates the two clichés that have been repeated throughout the speech about 'all hands on deck' and 'Business Unusual'. He deviates from the expected mechanical closing comments to make the following statements:

'What is the state of our nation as we enter 2008? What I do know and hereby make bold to say is: Whatever the challenges of the moment, we are still on course!

²⁵⁷ Appendix D, page 11, paragraph 9.

²⁵⁸ Appendix D, page 14, paragraph 7.

I say this with unshakeable conviction, because I am certain that South Africans are capable and geared to meet the challenge of history – to strain every sinew of our being – to respond to the national challenges of the day, including those relating to our economy, the political and economic situation in Africa and elsewhere in the world, and seize the opportunities that our country's progress over the past 14 years has provided.²⁵⁹

It is strange that Mbeki refers to the state of the nation when he would be aware that this address is formally known as the President's annual address to Parliament. It may be that he is using the commonly used term for the address or perhaps he is asking the question more directly. Although his response is a positive one of being 'on course', he still acknowledges that challenges exist and more specifically, he uses a melodramatic expression referring to the 'challenge of history' and once more asks the audience 'to strain every sinew' of their being to 'seize the opportunities' that he had put in place over the past 14 years.

The speech concludes with the same theme of opposites that he first articulated with the Dickens' quote and is found throughout the rest of the speech. Mbeki portrays the current situation as filled with unrivalled tests but at the same time reassures the audience that the legacy that he leaves will form a buffer. He expresses misgivings about the future without openly pointing to the new leadership. By leaving it as vague statements about challenges, he is able to appeal to his supporters and at the same time portray himself as a willing victim for the people.

Mbeki's 2008 speech marks a change in approach compared to his previous annual addresses to Parliament in that he makes a more direct ethical appeal to the nation. It is one of the few times that he uses pathos in his speech when he singles out his mother in the audience. His speech is largely deliberative in the manner that he appeals to the nation to work much harder to attain the goals that had been previously identified. He talks about straining at the sinews and all hands on deck which both suggest very hard work that is required without indicating what had precipitated the need for the hard work. To a large extent this speech is more open about the changes that have taken place and the

²⁵⁹ Appendix D, page 14, paragraph 9.

challenges facing the country and he continues the Dickens theme of opposites throughout the speech when he insists that the country is on track but still urges argues the need for hard work. The manner in which he issues a warning about the future is epideictic but this warning does not state the reasons for the sense of urgency that he implies. Mbeki's ethical appeal is evident in the manner that he addresses the nation by calling on them directly to assist with the challenges facing the country.

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Conclusion

Before dealing with the effect of Mbeki's rhetoric, it is important to look at the overall structure of his speeches and the main topics that he covers. Mbeki has a standard format of topics in which first recognises prominent persons in the audience and recalls key anniversaries. The guests that are acknowledged are usually associated with the anniversaries in some manner by having been present at the past event or related to someone that was linked to the event. The anniversary of the event that he chooses to commemorate is not chosen on the basis on the significance of the event but rather because a key anniversary has or will take place i.e. ten years, twenty-five years etc.

Having established his ethos, Mbeki then unites the audience around a specific value or catchphrase such as establishing a national identity and redress for the past injustices as seen in the 1999 address or the importance and responsibilities of democracy mentioned in 2006. Having spoken about the value or catchphrase that will form the basis of his speech, Mbeki gives an account of the 'state of the nation' by outlining Government's achievements since the previous speech. He refers to the specific proposals that were made the in the previous years' speech and explains the progress made with the key proposals. When he concludes the report, he uses it as a platform to list the policy proposals for the coming year which he intersperses with reminders about the value or catchphrase that he mentioned at the start of the speech. He concludes his speech by referring to South Africa's role in the region, on the continent and internationally, specifically his achievements in the regional and multilateral organisations. His final remarks are to reiterate the value or catchphrase to the audience that he introduced at the beginning of the speech. This repetition of the value in the speech causes it to be a recurring theme so that the audience is left with a consistent message.

Taking into account the above analysis of the rhetoric that Mbeki employs in his annual addresses to Parliament, one must ask the obvious question of what the rationale is for the choices that he makes. In their chapter on the State of the Union Addresses, Kohrs Campbell and Hall Jamieson suggest that due to its ritualistic nature and the need to evoke values that are associated with the proposals, ceremonial rhetoric is appropriate;

however, considering the constitutional requirement and the policy proposals contained in the address, it will require deliberative rhetoric as well²⁶⁰. It must be remembered that South Africa is a very young democracy and their reference to past Presidents indicates a sense of continuity with the past which may not necessarily exist²⁶¹. However, as shown in the earlier discussion about the legislative parameters of the speeches, there is a degree of ritual continuity in the way that the annual address to Parliament has been interpreted in South Africa. One can therefore begin to compare the annual address to the State of the Union address in the USA and the Speech from the Throne in Britain.

In dealing with epideictic rhetoric, Michael Carter also suggests that it has a connection with ritual and as such, generates a type of knowledge that is different from other discourse, that it promotes community and provides guidance to participants on how to conduct their lives²⁶².

Mbeki uses epideictic rhetoric when he deals with the topics about growing the economy and improving people's lives encapsulated by the catchphrase 'create a better life for all'. This phrase as well as the related topic of redressing the injustices of the past has the same effect as the phrase 'axis of evil'²⁶³ used by George W Bush during his presidency in order to unite the nation. Mbeki uses the concept of 'creating a better life for all' in order to remind the audience of the past and uses it to blame the apartheid Government for the current situation and the need for 'redress of past injustices'. When he deals with the detail of growing the economy and expanding on the targets that must be achieved in his speech, there is a similarity to Roosevelt's rhetoric uniting the nation for conservation²⁶⁴. In the Mbeki's case, the frontier is the goals that he sets and the opportunities that he sees as leading to economic freedom.

²⁶⁰ P73, Kohrs Campbell, K and Hall Jamieson, K, (1990) Deeds Done in Words.

²⁶¹ P74, Kohrs Campbell, K and Hall Jamieson, K, (1990) Deeds Done in Words.

²⁶² P213, Carter, M F (1991) The Ritual Functions of Epideictic Rhetoric: The Case of Socrates Funeral Oration.

²⁶³ P14, Wojcieszak, M. 3. The Long Life of the "Evil Empire": A Cultural-Historical Approach to American Presidential Rhetoric.

²⁶⁴ P14, Dorsey, L.G. The Frontier Myth in Presidential Rhetoric: Theodore Roosevelt's Campaign for Conservation.

Having outlined the structure of Mbeki's annual addresses to Parliament, and in light of his unexpected departure from office, it is important that Mbeki's resignation statement be analysed to see how much it deviates, if at all.

In this speech, the audience that Mbeki is addressing is the nation as he uses the public broadcaster to resign and refers to 'fellow South Africans' and 'Compatriots' in his salutations. However as will be seen, some parts of the speech is speaks directly to those who decided to remove him from office. Mbeki starts the speech by making an ethical appeal but unlike the annual addresses where he uses the ethos of the dignitaries, anniversaries or quotes, this time he displays personal ethos. While mentioning how long he has been a member of the ANC, he also displays humility by indicating that it is his loyalty that causes him to resign²⁶⁵. He reinforces this humility by thanking the people for the opportunity to be part of the presidency for the past 14years²⁶⁶. He then introduces some the values that underpin his speech and in this case it is the values of the organisation that had just removed him from office. This adds to his ethos as a loyal member but at the same time serves to remind his detractors in the audience of those values that they had not taken into account when dealing with him. When he reminds the audience of the value of Ubuntu, he aligns himself with the ethos strong ANC leaders such as Luthuli, Tambo and Mandela²⁶⁷.

He lists the achievements of Government under his tenure in the same manner as he does in the annual addresses despite noting that it is 'not the occasion to record the achievements of Government'²⁶⁸. After listing his achievements, he repeats the importance of the value of Ubuntu²⁶⁹ as the value that his Government used to ensure dignity and explains that it formed the basis of his Government's engagements. He continues this strong ethical appeal in a departure from the normal format when he clarifies his position with regard to the judiciary, in general, and the ruling in the Jacob Zuma case, in particular. Mbeki ends his resignation speech by reminding the audience (the nation and his detractors) that he had accomplished some achievements but that there were many challenges ahead.

²⁶⁵ Appendix E, page 1, paragraph 3.

²⁶⁶ Appendix E, page 1, paragraph 4.

²⁶⁷ Appendix E, page 1, paragraph 10.

²⁶⁸ Appendix E, page 2, paragraph 2.

²⁶⁹ Appendix E, page 2, paragraph 7.

His resignation speech has many elements of his annual address but unlike those addresses that are a combination of epideictic and deliberative rhetoric, Mbeki uses only epideictic rhetoric by praising the nation, the governments that he worked with by listing their achievements. He blames his detractors by reminding them of the values of the organisation that they belong to and essentially charging them with not acting within the confines of those values in the way that he is. By listing the achievements of his Government, he is also challenging those who will follow him. The speech has a mainly ethical appeal despite the fact that the act of resigning would evoke a great deal of emotion under the circumstances.

Glen Thurow points out that character is one of the most effective means of persuasion and that presidents must have good character in order to fulfill his duties²⁷⁰. He notes that '[C]haracter is displayed in both the speech and the deeds of individuals. But since these deeds are by themselves dumb and inexplicable, our access to character is through speech.'²⁷¹ The question is whether Mbeki is able to achieve this in his addresses to Parliament and who measures his character. When looking at the example of how Reagan responded to the Iran/Contra affair and the Tower Report by distinguishing between the public and the technical sphere as a defence for his actions or lack thereof²⁷², one can draw similarities with the manner in which Mbeki handled his removal from office. He is emphatic about his respect for the judiciary and is adamant that he did not interfere with any prosecution.

In dealing with the topics of the presidency and rhetoric, it is important to clarify some of the concepts. Martin Medhurst addresses two main constructs i.e. of the rhetorical presidency and presidential rhetoric which he defines as follows: the rhetorical presidency is narrow and theory dependent and rooted in political science while

²⁷⁰ P16. Thurow, G. Dimensions of Presidential Character in Medhurst, M (1996) Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency.

²⁷¹ P17. Thurow, G. Dimensions of Presidential Character in Medhurst, M (1996) Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency.

²⁷² P116. Lee, R and Spano, S J. (1996) Technical Discourse in Defense of Public Virtue: Ronald Reagan's Explanation of the Iran/Contra Affair.

presidential rhetoric is broader, practice dependent in speech communication and the concept of human persuasion²⁷³. Tulis suggests that all Presidents are rhetorical presidents by virtue of exercising their office through the medium of language²⁷⁴. The example of a presidency where the distinction between presidential rhetoric and a rhetorical presidency is very clear is Ronald Reagan in the United States and the manner in which he used popular appeal. He was hailed as the 'great communicator' for the way that he spoke to the nation directly at least once a week²⁷⁵. Medhurst raises five key concerns related to the rhetorical presidency: that there is an assumption that it was preceded by a nonrhetorical presidency; that rhetoric refers to 'emotional appeals to ignorant audiences'; that rhetoric is not an action in itself; that only rhetoric dealing with legislation and policy matters were meaningful; and that the theory underpinning rhetoric is incomplete²⁷⁶.

Taking into account this debate, it is important to note that this dissertation addresses presidential rhetoric but notes the concept of the rhetorical presidency in light of the criticism that Mbeki faced with regard to his image as being distant and out of touch with the people that he was addressing. The analyses show that there are many instances where the message that Mbeki seeks to convey is lost in a jumble of disconnected words or a series of clichés. Notwithstanding the rhetorical criticism that this dissertation makes, the central question would be whether Mbeki was able to communicate effectively with his target audience and how he defined that audience. As noted earlier, the audience is determined by the speaker and the speech is structured for this imagined audience. In terms of the analyses, the intended audience is wider than those present in the chamber. By using nation-building strategies and establishing ethos at the beginning of his speech, Mbeki is appealed to directly to the nation. The members of Parliament elected him as their President and had the power to remove him from office if they chose and therefore, it would not be required of him to ensure that his ethos is established to extent that it is

²⁷³ PXI, Medhurst, M (1996) Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency.

²⁷⁴ P3, Tulis, J K Revising the Rhetorical Presidency in Medhurst, M, (1996) Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency.

²⁷⁵ P3, Tulis, J K (1987). The Rhetorical Presidency and P210, Edwards, G C. Presidential Rhetoric: What difference does it make in Medhurst, M (1996) Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency.

²⁷⁶ PP XIII – XIV, Medhurst (1996) Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency.

every time. As members of the legislature, the seated audience would be more concerned with the policy proposals that he makes.

In his review of *The State of the Union messages of the Presidents*, edited by Fred L. Israel, Eugene E. White (1968) posits that if rhetoric may be accepted as being equivalent to persuasion and that in politics, persuasion and presidential persuasion is an exercise in power²⁷⁷. He goes further to suggest that despite the power accorded to the President, in order to lead, he must be able to persuade those who hold the countervailing power²⁷⁸. How does this fit in with Salazar's critique that the 'presidency has, for the past ten years, and more markedly for the past five years, deployed a skilful rhetorical strategy to buttress a belief in direct legitimacy and to impress on the public the concept of a president as the first arm of Government, possibly above Parliament'²⁷⁹. Is Mbeki simply making announcements or is he persuading the audience who has to make the decision.? The rhetorical analyses suggests that he is simply making announcements especially in terms of policy proposals to the audience in the chamber but that he seeks to persuade the audience that comprises of the nation of his fitness for the office that he holds. He deviates in the 2008 speech on some issues where he seeks to persuade the whole audience when dealing with issues such as the energy crisis but the general tendency is to simply inform the seated audience.

It is difficult to measure the extent to which Mbeki's rhetoric resonated with the intended audience in a scientific manner and a possible form of assessment would be to see whether Mbeki's actions and policy proposals gained support from the audience that he addressed. This is equally difficult to assess the efficacy of his rhetoric on legislators as South Africa does not have direct representation in Parliament and voting is party based. Since Mbeki's presidency of the ANC overlapped with his term of office as President of the country, it is also difficult to assess whether support for his policies was as a result of

²⁷⁷ P71. White, E. E. (1968) *Presidential Rhetoric: The State of the Union Address*.

²⁷⁸ P73. White, E. E. (1968) *Presidential Rhetoric: The State of the Union Address*.

²⁷⁹ P49. Salazar P-J, *The Joint Sitting of Parliament, 15 April 2003: A Rhetorical View of the Reparation Debate* in Duxtader, E. and Villa-Vicencio, C. (2004) *To Repair the Irreparable: Reparation and Reconstruction in South Africa*.

persuasion on his part or simply because the ANC held a huge majority and members of Parliament voted according to party dictates.

The question therefore should be, does Mbeki's rhetoric speak to the people of South Africa directly? Judging from the speeches analysed, Mbeki generally used rhetoric and images that did not address his audience directly if his audience was the South African nation. Mbeki is unable to discard his English influences and uses images that were drawn from his love of literature. When one takes into account that the majority of South Africans speak an African language as their mother tongue and less than 10% are English speakers, and that an even smaller percentage of the English speaking South Africans would have a tertiary qualification, the metaphors associated with the images that Mbeki uses are generally not understood by the general public.

Tulis points to the 'general problem of 'fit' between institution and occupant'²⁸⁰, when dealing with the understanding of the US presidency which raises the question of whether Mbeki's rhetoric is suited to the position that he held. This question must also be raised when looking at his rhetoric on HIV/Aids²⁸¹ and how he perceived the position of the presidency in that instance and whether those statements should have been private musings and not public claims.

If one takes into account that his rhetoric in the annual addresses are aimed at establishing power among the people as suggested above, then Mbeki's removal must be seen as an indication that he was unable to convince the nation of his character and suitability for the position. By keeping his distance from the people in the manner that he addressed them as well as the occasional manner of these addresses, he missed other potential opportunities to extend his rhetorical presidency. He could have appealed to the nation more directly with addresses at regular intervals such as key religious holidays, or social events such as New Year. If he had maintained his ethos with the people in this way, he may have been able to call on their support more directly, above the head of the party and Parliament when he needed support. By clinging so closely to the British form of a president-in-parliament and assuming that the minimal use of the rhetorical

²⁸⁰ P176, Tulis, J K (1987), *The Rhetorical Presidency*.

²⁸¹ Sheckels, T. F., *The Rhetoric of Thabo Mbeki on HIV/Aids: Strategic Scapegoating?*

presidency would ensure that he upheld his ethos with the nation, he failed to make use of the powerful tool that he had at his disposal in the form of the Presidency. It may be that, while his policies and actions were generally sound, his ability to persuade his audience of this failed causing him to ultimately fail.

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DEBATES OF THE JOINT SITTING

(HANSARD)

FIRST SESSION — SECOND PARLIAMENT

1

FRIDAY, 25 JUNE 1999

2

PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

CALLING OF JOINT SITTING

The Speaker announced that the Presiding Officers had received a message from the President requesting that a Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces be convened, in terms of Joint Rule 2(1)(a), on Friday, 25 June 1999, at 11:00 to enable him to deliver his annual address to Parliament.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker and Deputy Speaker, Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces and Deputy Chairpersons, one rotating and the other permanent, premiers of our provinces, distinguished representatives of local government, Deputy President of the Republic, hon members of Parliament, Your Excellencies Ambassadors and High Commissioners and distinguished guests, we are on course.

Steadily, the dark clouds of despair are lifting, giving way to our season of hope. Our country which, for centuries, has bled from a thousand wounds is progressing towards its healing. The continuing process of social and national emancipation, to which we are all subject,

constitutes an evolving act of self-definition. At the dawn of a new life, our practical actions must ensure that none can challenge us when we say – we are a nation at work to build a better life!

When the millions of our people went to vote three weeks ago in peaceful elections that were free and fair, they guaranteed the permanence of the foundations from which we will advance to meet this objective. To these masses we owe the obligation to recommit the Government, on whose behalf I speak, to the construction of a people-centred society. This I am happy to do with all the authority at my command. What will guide us in everything we do will be the challenge to build a caring society. This society must guarantee the dignity of every citizen on the basis of a good quality of life for every woman, man and child, without regard to race, colour or disability. It must be sustained by a growing economy capable of extending sustainable and equitable benefits to all our people.

We seek to replace a society which, in many instances, has been and continues to be brutal and brutish in the extreme. Over the centuries this has condemned millions to a catastrophic loss of national identity and human dignity, land dispossession, classification and denigration as subhumans and the systematic destruction of families and communities.

The society we seek to replace was, to a very significant degree, built on the law of the jungle, of the survival of the fittest. Accordingly, the weakest who were denied access to power became the landless, the unemployed, the uneducated, the surplus people deported to the so-called homelands, the victims of abject poverty. Among these are those in our cities and towns who have lost all hope and all self-worth, who have slid into a twilight world of drug and alcohol abuse, of the continuous sexual and physical abuse of women and children, of purposeless wars fought with fists and boots, metal rods, knives and guns, resulting every day in death and grievous bodily harm.

The society we seek to replace entrenched corruption in all areas of human activity, informed by the notion that the concepts of right and wrong are dead and, therefore, that everything that serves one's personal interests is permissible. What we have said shows the enormity of the challenge we

face to succeed in creating the caring society we have spoken of. For this reason this is not a task that can be carried out by the Government alone. The challenge of the reconstruction and development of our society into one which guarantees human dignity, faces the entirety of our people. It is a national task that calls for the mobilisation of the whole nation into a united people's action, into a partnership with Government for progressive change and a better life for all, for a common effort to build a winning nation.

The Government, therefore, commits itself to work in a close partnership with all our people, inspired by the call "Faranani!" [take one another's hand!] to ensure that we draw on the energy and genius of the nation to give birth to something that will surely be new, good and beautiful.

We invite all those in our country who occupy positions of authority and power to join in this new way of doing things, by engaging the people whom they serve and lead in the common effort to transform all of us into a people at work for a better South Africa.

One of the central features of the brutish society we seek to bring to an end is the impermissible level of crime and violence. Acting together with the people, we will heighten our efforts radically to improve the safety and security of all our citizens. This will entail a variety of measures focused on ensuring the effective implementation of the National Crime Prevention Strategy. Let me mention a few of these, relating mainly to policing.

We will work to improve the professional competence and effectiveness of the Police Service by introducing new human resource development programmes. I am also pleased to announce that new recruits with the requisite levels of education will be brought into service to help transform the Police Service into the pride of the nation. Appropriate measures will be taken to give these recruits the necessary training so that they can assume their positions as soon as possible at all levels, including the senior management echelon.

At the same time, all relevant regulations will be reviewed to ensure the proper promotion and deployment of serving members, taking into account their competence, honesty and dedication.

and the need to end the racial and gender imbalances within the Police Service. Steps will be taken to review the conditions of service of the Police Service with a view to its improvement.

This must also help us to ensure that we raise the public status of our policemen and policewomen, so that they are seen, correctly, as the frontline guarantors of the fundamental human rights to liberty, life, safety and security. [Applause.] To enable our law enforcement agencies to translate this into reality, I am privileged to announce that a special and adequately staffed and equipped investigation unit will be established urgently to deal with all national priority crimes, including police corruption. I have directed that the Ministers of Safety and Security, Defence, Intelligence, Justice, Home Affairs and Finance must finalise all outstanding matters which relate to the activation of this unit within a fortnight. [Applause.]

Co-ordination of all security organs will be improved in accordance with the provisions of the National Crime Prevention Strategy. Taking into account developments since its passage and to ensure that nobody benefits from the proceeds of crime, amendments to the Prevention of Organised Crime Act will be introduced. Legislation against money laundering will also be introduced. Legislation will also be introduced to ensure that we can deal mercilessly with all crimes involving guns, including the illegal possession of firearms, the killing of police officers, corruption within the criminal justice system and the intimidation of witnesses. [Applause.]

A study conducted by the Co-ordination and Implementation Unit in the Office of the Deputy President has confirmed what all of us have surely known, namely the correlation between poverty, crime and race. The areas of high crime concentration, including all crimes of violence, are the black and poor areas of our country. These include such areas as Tsolo in the Eastern Cape, Thabong in the Free State, Katlehong in Gauteng, Inanda in KwaZulu-Natal, KaNyamazana in Mpumalanga, Mafikeng in the North West, Galeshewe in the Northern Cape, Thohoyandou in the Northern Province and Mitchells Plain in the Western Cape. We will, therefore, make

multidisciplinary interventions in these areas, starting with a few pilot areas, drawing in all spheres of Government and engaging the people themselves in an offensive to ensure that we reduce the levels of crime in these areas which are characterised by a high incidence of crime.

Measures will also be taken to strengthen the community police fora, to improve their capacity to mobilise the people against crime and to improve co-operation between the people and the law enforcement agencies. As we have said, the partnership between the Government and the people will be one of the hallmarks of the national offensive against crime and violence.

We will also adopt this same approach of partnership with the people in the fight against corruption. In this regard, we must ensure that we pass the Open Democracy Bill and move speedily to ensure the implementation of the provisions relating to the protection of whistleblowers.

The coming into force of the Public Finance Management Act will also increase our capacity to ensure proper control and accountability with regard to public finances. New steps will also be taken to ensure the enforcement of the Code of Conduct for Public Servants, as well as the proposals that emerged from the government and national anticorruption conferences held during 1998 and 1999. In this regard, standing arrangements will be entered into requiring that the Public Service Commission and the representatives of the private sector account publicly for the actions to which they committed themselves at the conferences. [Applause.]

A further impetus will have to be given to the initiative of Religious Leaders against Corruption to achieve the "RDP of the soul" which Nelson Mandela spoke about. I would like to take this opportunity once more to reiterate the commitment of our Government to honest, transparent and accountable governance and our determination to act against anybody who transgresses these norms.

The SA Revenue Service, the Police Service and the Director of Public Prosecutions will further strengthen their co-operation in the fight against financial and economic crimes. The example set by

exist – thus dismissing the view that inflexible labour markets are at the heart of the employment problem . . . Unfortunately employers perceive that the recent “avalanche” of labour market policy now makes it more onerous to employ. These perceptions, whilst they may not be rooted in reality when one considers the regulatory environment in other countries, do appear to be influencing the behaviour of the economic actors . . .

The Government will continue to give priority to the issue of job creation. If perceptions or realities influence the process negatively, these must be addressed. Accordingly, in keeping with the decisions taken at the Jobs Summit, consultations have been taking place with our social partners to identify such possible areas. These include probation, remedies for unfair dismissals, dismissals for operational requirements, the extension of Bargaining Council agreements and certain provisions of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act.

We will continue to discuss these matters with our social partners to address the efficiency of the labour market. Job creation, the opening up of opportunities for all our people to earn an honest living, as well as the protection of the rights of all our working people, remain matters of critical concern to the Government. We will continue actively to address all these matters, including such important questions as skills development, the casualisation of labour, illegal foreign workers and workers whose rights are not protected.

All necessary measures will also be taken to ensure the implementation of all other decisions taken at the Jobs Summit. The necessary funds have already been voted to meet the commitments the Government made at this summit. All our partners have an obligation themselves publicly to report on the actions they have taken and are taking to honour their undertakings.

An important project that will soon be implemented within the context of the Jobs Summit will be the improvement of public buildings to enhance access and use by disabled people. [Applause.] This initiative, elaborated by the disabled, the National Youth Commission and

the Department of Public Works, will be implemented soon, as part of the programme decided at the Jobs Summit. The Umsobomvu Fund for youth development and training will become operational as soon as Old Mutual has completed its demutualisation process.

The board of trustees of the National Development Agency will be constituted shortly. Hopefully, this will assist in ensuring the further mobilisation of the people themselves to participate in the development process as agents working for social change and their own advancement.

I am pleased to announce that, immediately, the Minister of Trade and Industry will make recommendations to the Government with regard to those who competed to run our national lottery. This important matter will be concluded within the next 14 days. In a few months, it will be possible to allocate even more resources to the promotion of the good causes to which the Government and institutions such as the NDA and the IDI are committed.

The rural areas of our country represent the worst concentrations of poverty. No progress can be made towards a life of human dignity for our people as a whole unless we ensure the development of these areas. The Government is now in a position to implement a rural development programme for the integrated development of the rural areas. This will bring together all Government departments and all spheres of government, including the traditional leaders.

The integration we seek must, for instance, ensure that when a clinic is built, there must be a road to access it. [Applause.] It must be electrified and supplied with water. It must have the requisite personnel, qualified to meet the health needs of the particular community. The safety and security of the personnel and material resources which are part of the clinic must be guaranteed. We must also establish the conditions which give the possibility to this medical point to radiate outwards as a point of reference with regard to the larger project of our self-definition as a people at work, building a better life for ourselves.

Consistent with our concentration on this objective, including the critical importance of jobs, the Government remains preoccupied with the

issue of gold sales and their impact on gold mining, employment and export earnings, both in our own country and the rest of our continent. Working within the Gold Crisis Committee, we will continue to maintain contact with all relevant players, both domestically and throughout the world, to minimise the inevitable adverse effect on our country, our people and our continent.

The debt burden of those who cannot both carry this debt and achieve sustained development must be addressed. In the same way that we have demonstrated our own commitment to contribute to the development of others less fortunate than ourselves by cancelling the debts of some of our neighbours, we expect that those who are a thousand times wealthier than we are will not seek to help us as Africans by rendering us less capable of standing on our own feet. [Applause.]

In order to improve the quality of life of all our people, especially the most disadvantaged, the Government will maintain its approach to reprioritise public spending to maintain and improve the safety net available to the most disadvantaged in our society. It is, however, vital that we improve the quality of spending in these areas and therefore the delivery of services to the people. This will be done by managing downwards the amounts spent on personnel, rooting out corruption and theft, improving management skills throughout the social sector and ensuring an integrated, interdepartmental approach to the delivery of services.

Special programmes will also be introduced to speed up the improvement of the quality of life of various sections of our population. These will include the accelerated delivery of assistive devices for the disabled and the establishment of one-stop centres for abused women and children. [Applause.]

The Office on the Status of Women will present a gender audit to Government by September. This will enable the Government to evaluate the progress achieved with regard to the implementation of the Plan of Action on Gender, which the previous government adopted. This will enable us to take such decisions as may be necessary to ensure that we continue to focus on the vital question of the development and the

emancipation of women, as well as further integrate this issue within all Government programmes.

The advances made in this national Parliament and the national executive with regard to gender equity, point to the need to adopt a similar approach with regard to all other centres of authority and power in our society. Similarly, the Government will tighten its tracking of the poverty question to ensure that Government policies and programmes are actually succeeding in reducing the levels of poverty in our country. The funds set aside for poverty alleviation will also be allocated without further delay and will be used not as handouts, but as a catalyst towards sustainable development.

The Government will also review all the work done so far to confront the scourge of HIV/Aids with a view to the intensification of all efforts relating to this epidemic. Of critical importance will be that we take all necessary steps to ensure that the partnerships against HIV/Aids that have been formed and the public education campaigns we have been conducting do actually result in changing behaviour patterns, improve support to Aids victims and orphans and speed up steps towards the development of a vaccine.

An historic document of the people of our country asserts that as a consequence of the victory of the struggle for national liberation, the doors of education and learning shall be open to all. [Applause.] Many people, including our youth, died and sacrificed for the realisation of this objective. They did so because they understood the importance for themselves and all our communities of the right to freedom from ignorance.

Consistent with this correct view, we must ensure that education and training constitute the decisive drivers in our effort to build a winning nation. The Government will, therefore, intensify its focus on education so that we succeed in our effort to produce an educated and appropriately skilled population. A great deal of work has been done in this area affecting all levels of education and training. We will, therefore, ensure that existing policies and programmes are carried out with a sense of urgency and commitment to their success.

To achieve these results, we will also have to engage in massive in-service training programmes for educators in all fields and at all levels, as well as the transformation of preservice training. We will have to focus on an outcomes-based assessment, as well as on quality management systems. Our human resource development strategies will only succeed if the people assigned to develop our human resources have the capacity to do so.

All necessary steps must and will be taken to ensure that learners learn, educators educate and managers manage. [Applause.] Once more we will also take the necessary measures to mobilise the people, including the parents, so that we succeed as a country in meeting the challenge of educating all our people in a manner that is consistent with the demands imposed on everybody by the process of globalisation.

The Government is also determined to ensure that the machinery of state is geared towards serving the people in keeping with the vision of Batho Pele. We will speed up the completion of the skills and service audits currently being carried out. These audits are aimed at defining service needs, the availability of skills and the possibilities for redeployment to support the process of the restructuring of the Public Service. Action will be taken on the basis of these audits, as well as other initiatives, to rightsize the Public Service, to improve skills levels, to improve the quality of management and to release more resources for the actual provision of services to the people.

We will also work with the SA Local Government Association to lend all necessary assistance to ensure that this sphere of government improves its effectiveness and efficiency, bearing in mind that this is the point at which our entire system of governance delivers services to the people. In this context, we must make the point that to overcome the problem of urban poverty will require that local government adopts and pursues a consistent programme of poverty relief without discrimination on the basis of race or colour. Our Government is ready and willing to support this effort.

The promotion and protection of the cultural, linguistic and religious rights of all our people must occupy a central place in the work of the Government. It should not happen that any one of us

should feel a sense of alienation. Whatever the sicknesses of our society, none should be driven to levels of despair which drive them to a peripheral existence at the fringes of the mainstream. Nor should we allow those who were denied their identity, including the Khoi and the San, to continue to exist in the shadows, a passing historical relic and the object of an obscene tourist curiosity. [Applause.]

We consider the work of restoring the pride and identity of all our people to be of vital importance to the task of advancing the human dignity of all our citizens and ensuring the success of our efforts towards national reconciliation and nation-building. We will work for the speedy implementation of the constitutional requirement to establish a Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities.

We will also work with the traditional leaders to resolve all outstanding matters relating to the important question of the role of our traditional leaders in our system of governance. The Ministries of Sports and Recreation and of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology will play a special role with regard to this critical work to ensure that all our cultures and languages occupy their rightful place within the rich tapestry that constitutes our diverse being as a people. This will be an important contribution to the effort we must sustain to wipe out the legacies of racism and sexism, which continue to afflict our society.

Capacity will also be created within the Presidency to ensure that our Government, at its highest levels, gives attention to all these questions which bear on nation-building. The Government will also focus on the tasks of achieving the objectives of the African renaissance and ensuring that the next century evolves as the African century. We will therefore contribute whatever we can towards the resolution of conflicts on our continent. We cannot accept that war, violent conflict and rapine are a permanent condition of existence for us as Africans. [Applause.] Nor can we accept that our continent, endowed with enormous human and natural resources, is incapable of achieving sustained development.

Every day all those who wish to hear and see are exposed to the extraordinary integrated cultural heritage which both captures our African past and

is an important factor that will contribute towards the recovery of our pride and dignity. Gradually, Africa will work her way towards the resumption of her rightful place among the continents of our globe. Where necessary, we will call on the services of such outstanding African statespersons as former Presidents Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Sir Ketumile Masire and Nelson Mandela, to assist in the promotion of this agenda. [Applause.] As part of the world community of nations, we will make our due contribution to the construction of a new world order that will be responsive to the needs of especially the poor of the world.

For us to succeed in our work, both as a Government and a people, will require that we approach the tasks ahead with all due seriousness and a sense of discipline which recognises the fact that all rights are accompanied by obligations. It will require that all of us defend the freedoms and the system of governance guaranteed and created by our Constitution, underpinned by the understanding that the people are the final guarantors of our democracy, the subject of all Government policies and their own liberators.

As the people went to the polls earlier this month, protected among others by our Defence Force, which had also acted to defend life and democracy in Lesotho, they expected that the government they would elect would work selflessly to respond to their needs and aspirations, bearing in mind resource limitations. We dare not and will not disappoint that expectation.

As a tribute to these masses, I would like to salute all the provincial winners of the President's Award

for Community Initiative. I am happy to announce that the national winner of the award, whose work focused on such important issues as poverty alleviation, the emancipation of women, the rebuilding of communities, domestic violence and providing education on HIV/Aids, is the Makgaung Community Project of the Northern Province. [Applause.] May the selfless and creative work carried out by the women of the Northern Province serve to inspire all of us to spare no effort in the struggle to create a caring society.

We sit in this Parliament, authorised by these women from the Northern Province and others who mirror them throughout our country, to work as their representatives. We must assume that they were wise to have selected us. If they were – as we must accept in our own self-interest that they were – we must accept also that none of us should forsake their wisdom, as it will watch over us as we carry out our tasks. [Applause.]

Their wisdom will protect us, exalt and honour us, even as it costs us all we have, including the vanity of our prejudices. If, by word and deed, we take our place among the ordinary people who position themselves in a nation that is at work to build a better life for all within a caring society, then we should expect that the poor of the world will set a garland of grace on our heads and present each and every one of us with a crown of splendour. Thus will we all arrive at the starting point – that we are on course! [Applause.]

The Joint Sitting rose at 11 58.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

JOINT SITTINGS
OF
BOTH HOUSES
OF
PARLIAMENT

(JANSARD)

FIFTH SESSION – SECOND PARLIAMENT

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REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEBATES OF THE JOINT SITTING

(HANSARD)

FIFTH SESSION - SECOND PARLIAMENT

FRIDAY, 14 FEBRUARY 2003

2

PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00. The Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

CALLING OF JOINT SITTING

(Announcement)

The Speaker announced that the President had requested that a Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces be convened in terms of Joint Rule 7(1), to enable him to deliver his annual address to Parliament.

[Applause.]

STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Thank you very much, Madam Speaker, Acting Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces, Deputy Speaker, Deputy President of the Republic, hon leaders of our political parties and hon members of Parliament, Ministers and Deputy Ministers, our esteemed Chief Justice and members of the Judiciary, heads of our Security Services, Governor of the Reserve Bank, President Mandela and Mrs Graca Machel, distinguished premiers of our provinces, distinguished speakers of the provincial legislatures, mayors and leaders in our system of local government, our honoured traditional leaders, heads of the state organs supporting our democratic system, directors general

Their report may very well decide the question whether the peoples of the world will continue to enjoy a global peace.

This we must say, that for us as Africans to host the 2002 World Cup, like the President's Golf Cup here this year, communicates the message that we were not wrong when we said that this, the 21st century, would be an African century.

However, for us to realise this objective, we require that, unlike the 20th, the 21st century should be a century of African peace. It should also be a century of world peace.

Hopelily, today's report of the United Nations weapons inspectors to the Security Council will not serve as a signal to some that the time has come to unleash the fury of war.

Today, on the 14th of February, two great world cities, New York and Cape Town, have to grapple with the fundamental question of war and peace. They have to choose sides in the contest between human hope and human despair, between war and peace.

As we speak, a number of our citizens are preparing to travel to Iraq. These are the experts who led our country's programme to destroy our nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction, as well as the missiles for the delivery of these weapons in conditions of war. The work they did has now resulted in the South African example of disarmament being recognised internationally as an example of best international practice. (Applause.)

Recently, we proposed to the Government of Iraq and the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr Kofi Annan, that this team should visit Iraq to share with the government, scientists, engineers, technicians and people of Iraq our experience relevant to the mission of the United Nations and Iraq to eradicate weapons of mass destruction under international supervision.

I am pleased to inform the hon members that Iraq has accepted our offer, which we have already discussed with the leadership of the weapons inspectors. We trust that this intervention will help to ensure the necessary proper co-operation between the United Nations inspectors and Iraq, so that the issue of weapons of mass destruction is addressed satisfactorily, without resort to war.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the government of Iraq for its positive response to our suggestions, as well as the recent decisions it has taken to allow the I2 and other aerial surveillance flights to encourage its citizens to be interviewed at any location decided by the inspectors without any Iraqi officials present and to adopt legislation prohibiting the production of weapons of mass destruction.

To assist with regard to this last matter, we have given Iraq copies of our own legislation dealing with weapons of mass destruction, the Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction Act of 1993, as well as notices and regulations published in terms of the Act in the period between 1997 and 2002.

We have done all this because we prefer peace to war. We have taken the positions we have, not to oppose or support any country, but to seek any glory. We have done what we have because, as South Africans and Africans, we know the pain of war and the immeasurable value of peace. During the last century, South Africans lost their lives in the name battles of the First and Second World Wars and the Korean War.

Many paid the supreme sacrifice in a protracted contest within our country, and a dishonourable continuation with the people of the rest of Africa, especially in Southern Africa, as we struggled to end the system of apartheid. At that time, some among us worked to develop and accumulate exactly the terrible weapons that the Security Council is demanding that Iraq should destroy.

[illegible]

As we meet here for the first time this year, we trust that this democratically elected forum of the people of South Africa will pronounce itself unequivocally in favour of peace, against war. [Applause.]

We urge that our national Parliament should express itself in favour of the peaceful eradication of any weapons of mass destruction, in Iraq, for Iraq's respect for the decisions of the United Nations Security Council, for respect by all countries of the principle and practice of multilateralism, for the continuing responsibility of the United Nations with regard to issues of international peace and security, and the peaceful resolution of international conflicts.

On this day both Cape Town and New York must respond to all these challenges honestly and frankly. I dare say that this national legislature will choose to give peace a chance.

I would like to take this opportunity to extend a word of thanks and appreciation to the thousands of our people who rolled up their sleeves to lend a hand in the national effort to build a better life for all South Africans.

This includes some of the hon members of Parliament present here today. Their involvement in practical work to improve the conditions of the people – be it in the campaign to register people for social grants, improvement of learning, teaching and discipline in our schools – emphasises the partnership that should exist between the various arms of Government to ensure that life changes for the better especially among the poor. It underlines the importance of the contact we must maintain continuously with the people of our country who elected us.

(Of course, our thanks also go to the ordinary citizen Lesetema volunteers, some of whom participated in the spectacular opening ceremony of the Cricket World Cup, as they had done when we hosted the launch of the African Union and hosted the World Summit

We speak in favour of peace because our people prefer peace to war. They yearn for peace because they know from their experience that without peace there can be no development. Without development we will not be able to realise the goal of a better life for all. Without peace we will fail in the effort in which we are engaged to transform ours into a country of hope, and reveal to the past on which we have turned our backs, a past of misery and despair.

With regard both to changing the lives of South Africans for the better and to building relations of human solidarity with the peoples of the world, the tide has turned. Our task is to take this tide at the flood. Further progress towards the achievement of the goals for which so many of our people sacrificed. This is the perspective that will

for Sustainable Development. In addition, these ordinary citizen volunteers had participated in all the initiatives undertaken throughout the year.

As we continue to respond to the challenge to put our shoulders to the wheel to accelerate the pace of change, we reiterate the appeal to all our people to sustain the volunteer Lesetema campaign and respond to the call. [Applause.]

Hon members will remember that, in our address to the House last year, we expressed the confidence of Government in the health of our economy. We asserted then that, despite the difficulties that we may experience from time to time and despite the economic downturn across the globe, our economy was robust and had the potential to perform relatively well.

Indeed the country has managed to stay the course of growth, with the growth of the gross domestic product for 2002 estimated at 3.1%. Gross fixed capital formation grew by almost 8% during the year. We have now had 10 consecutive years of positive growth. Manufacturing grew by 5.4% in 2002, the fastest growth since 1995. Our currency has

lost back the losses it suffered during 2001. During 2002 it recorded its first annual gain against the US dollar in 15 years.

In the first three quarters of 2002, household consumption expenditure grew by an average of 3.2% while disposable income increased by over 3.5%. Household debt as a percentage of disposable income is at its lowest level since 1993. In the third quarter of 2002 gross savings as a percentage of GDP increased above 15% for the first time since 1999.

Through tax reform we have, since 1999, cumulatively increased the income of citizens by a total of R38.1 billion. At the same time the introduction of minimum wages for domestic and farm workers should help improve the income of the most vulnerable

workers. In addition, these ordinary citizen volunteers had participated in all the initiatives undertaken throughout the year.

We also pride ourselves on the contribution that the Government has made directly to the income of citizens. Through five increases in social grants announced in April and October last year, a total of R1.5 billion was made available to the most vulnerable in our society. This will be augmented by further increases this year. Over the last decade, including the period when we had to correct the macroeconomic imbalances, expenditure on social services grew by 4% per year in real terms.

Government has put in place various measures to deal with the emergency arising from high food prices. In addition to immediate-term measures that include the setting up of the Food Monitoring Committee, Government made R400 million available for food parcels and agricultural starter packs, as well as other resources for food relief in Southern Africa.

These direct contributions to the income of citizens, especially the poor, serve to complement the "social wage" that has improved with each passing year.

This "social wage" includes the increased number of water and electricity connections, the patient improvements in teaching and learning in our schools, the acceleration of the land restitution and redistribution programme, which includes hundreds of thousands of title deeds in urban areas. It complements the efforts of Government to contribute to economic growth, to expand and modernise the economic infrastructure and the substantial resources allocated to the development of small, medium and micro enterprises.

Over the past few years we have worked hard to lay the basis for the advances we must make to meet the goal of a better life for all. At the centre of this are the related

objectives of the eradication of poverty and the fundamental transformation of our country into one that is nonracial, nonsexist and prosperous.

We have no doubt that our policies have been and are a correct response to the practical reality we inherited. The changes taking place in our country attest to this. The lives of our people are changing for the better. Gradually we are moving away from the entrenched racial, gender and spatial rigidities of the past. Our economy is demonstrating a resilience and dynamism that is the envy of many across the world. Truly, the tide has turned. [Applause.]

Despite resistance among some, our people are developing a strong sense of a common patriotism. Our country occupies an honoured place among the nations of the world as part of the global forces working for the progressive transformation of our common universe. Some of this has happened of its own. It is the outcome of correct elaboration and implementation of correct policies since 1994.

Because of all this, let us again affirm that with regard both to changing the lives of South Africans for the better and to building relations of human solidarity with the peoples of the world, the tide has turned. Our task is to take this tide at the flood, further to have better understood what the people want.

For instance, having listened to the people of Botswana during the Presidential imbroglio (a unique national Government will work with both the province and local government to introduce public works programmes in this area. We shall find safe and secure land for settlement and upgrade community infrastructure both to improve social services and provide some employment. [Applause.]

As hon members and the country are aware, we have, for some years, implemented CDEAR, among other things, to generate the resources for us to address the social needs of our people. As a result of our successes in

Because of the foundations we have laid, we must once more set ourselves necessary realistic tasks for the year. Needless to say, these must be located within the broad perspective we have just indicated. These

this regard, this year will see a further expansion of services to the people.

This will cover a number of areas, including old age and disability pensions, the child support grant which will be extended progressively to cover children up to the age of 14. . . . [Applause.] . . . the school feeding scheme, food and nutrition, education, health, water and electricity. As we are extending unemployment insurance to agricultural workers, we urge all employers to ensure that their workers are properly registered. [Applause.] Our specific objective with regard to all these interventions is to reach as many of the most vulnerable as possible.

To ensure an integrated approach to this nature of the further expansion of services to the people, this year we will complete our work on a Comprehensive Social Security System as a Comprehensive Social Security Scheme.

Some of the measures we will take in the context of expanded delivery include provision of free health care to people with disabilities. . . . [Applause.] . . . reaching the free basic water who still have no access to this service, providing poor households in such households will be provided with a subsidy of up to 80% of the market cost to provide access to electricity systems.

We will pay particular attention to a comprehensive response to the health challenges facing our country. This must include responses to the fundamental problem of poverty, eradication and better nutrition, lifestyles, observance of legal and social norms with regard to road safety, the social fabric within especially those communities living in poverty, and the culture of observing treatment regimes with regard to such curable diseases as tuberculosis.

As we will indicate later, other Government interventions will also focus on this sector in a particular way. Critically, some of these interventions must aim at ensuring that as many as possible of those who fall within this category move out of the trap within which they are caught.

Accordingly, the Government must act to ensure that we reduce the number of people

dependent on social welfare, increasing the numbers that rely for their livelihood on normal participation in the economy. This also is especially relevant to the accomplishment of the goal of enhancing the dignity of every South African.

We must also refer to the important matter of gender equality. Some progress is being made in Government to address this issue, and in the private sector and civil society the campaign on the rights of women has started at least to form part of the national discourse. But society still lags far behind in terms of actual implementation, particularly in mainstreaming gender issues on development and poverty eradication.

Within Government we will continue to insist on the implementation of the National Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality. Concretely, we will soon introduce a system through which gender representation targets and content of programmes become part of the core performance criteria of every government institution and every government manager. [Applause.]

The effective delivery of the expanded services to the people requires that we improve the efficiency of the Public Service. Obviously, without an efficient and effective Public Service, it will be impossible for us to register the advances that we are capable of. Again, this will require that we make a number of determined interventions.

By the middle of this year, the national and provincial governments will complete the process of auditing the Public Service personnel in these spheres of government and determining their personnel needs in terms of the tasks that confront Government. This will enable us to effect the necessary adjustments to ensure that the Public Service has the people with the right skills, at the right places, in the right numbers. [Applause.]

To overcome the problems that we have continued to experience in the distribution of

social grants, with an adverse impact on people in need, we shall speed up the process to set up a National Social Security Agency. [Applause.]

Cognisant of the critical role of local government, the central and provincial governments will work together to extend assistance to this sphere of our system of governance, in particular to improve its managerial, technical and administrative capacity.

The Government will create a Public Service echelon of multiskilled community development workers who will maintain direct contact with the people where these masses live. We are determined to ensure that government goes to the people so that we sharply improve the quality of the outcomes of public expenditures intended to raise the standard of living of our people. [Applause.]

It is wrong that government should oblige the people to come to the government, even in circumstances in which they do not know what services the government offers and have no means to pay for the transport to reach these government offices. [Applause.]

It will be particularly important that we attract the right people into this cadre of community development workers, train them properly, and supervise them effectively. These development workers must truly be inspired by the letter and spirit of batho pele! Among other things, these workers will help to increase the effectiveness of our system of local government, strengthening its awareness of and capacity to respond to the needs of the people at the local level.

To ensure the proper execution of multisector projects, we will appoint dedicated project managers accountable to teams of relevant officials and the Executive, with the authority and responsibility to ensure implementation across departments and spheres of government. At the same time, monitoring capacity at the level of the

Presidency will have to be strengthened. A framework for this approach will be ready in the next four months.

The process to set up a government-wide call centre will be speeded up. In addition, we will start this year to phase in an electronic system, an e-government gateway, in which the directory of government services will be available according to citizens' needs rather than the silos of the state bureaucracy, an electronic version of the Multipurpose Community Centres. [Applause.]

As Parliament and our people know, for two years we have focused on particular rural and urban nodes in the context of the drive to assist the poorest in our country to achieve development and an improved standard of living. To improve our work in this regard, steps will be taken to ensure proper co-ordination, co-operation and operational integration among the three spheres of government.

We will this year also finalise the proposal for the harmonisation of systems, conditions of service and norms between the Public Service in the national and provincial spheres on the one hand, and the municipalities on the other.

This year we will also have to finalise the long running debate about the role and place of the institution of traditional leadership, bearing in mind that this is one of our constitutional organs of government. The necessary national framework legislation will therefore be tabled, which will enable the provincial legislatures to approve legislation specific to each of our provinces.

In co-operation with the provincial government, a multidisciplinary national team is working in the Eastern Cape to contribute to the solution of the problems facing this province. This work will continue with the necessary speed and intensity. It will also help the Government as a whole to under-

stand what needs to be done to improve our overall system of governance.

In this regard, we will pay particular attention to five departments, these being Finance, Education, Social Development, Health and Public Works. All these must have the necessary capacity to do their work properly. They must function in a manner that will enable us to meet our national goals.

The work being done in the Eastern Cape will also assist us greatly further to intensify our offensive against the cancer of corruption within the Public Service. This work will be intensified in all three spheres of government, building on the experience accumulated within departments and through the efforts of such institutions as the Public Protector, the Auditor General and the Public Service Commission.

Further improvement in the quality of the lives of our people also requires that we take new measures to increase the volume and quality of our investment in the social infrastructure. This includes such areas as housing and municipal infrastructure, hospitals and clinics, schools, roads, water, electricity and Government facilities. In all these areas, we must improve our performance relative to the previous year.

Accordingly, additional resources will be set aside to meet this obligation. We will ensure that these resources are actually used, consistent with what we have said about the need to ensure that we have the necessary mechanisms to implement our policies and decisions.

In this regard, we must commend the provinces for significantly improved efficiency in the area of capital investment. For the period of nine months of the current fiscal year, expenditure in this area has increased by 48% compared to the same period during the previous fiscal year. At the same time, it seems clear that not all the allocated funds

will be spent by the end of the financial year. It is precisely this shortcoming that we must address this year.

With regard to this social investment, we will pay particular but not exclusive attention to the nodal points already identified in the context of our Urban Renewal and Rural Development Programmes. It is in these areas that we find the largest concentration of the marginalised sections of our population, which require dedicated interventions to extricate them from conditions of under-development and entrenched poverty. This dictates that we focus on them with regard to our social spending as well as social and economic infrastructure investment.

To address this investment in social infrastructure, the Government has decided that we should launch an expanded public works programme. This will ensure that we draw significant numbers of the unemployed into productive work, and that these workers gain skills while they work, and thus take an important step to get out of the pool of those who are marginalised.

We will also further expand the network of the Multipurpose Community Centres.

The Government will also make various interventions in the economy in general further to encourage its growth and development. In this regard, we must mention that it is planned that the Growth and Development Summit that we mentioned last year is now scheduled for the beginning of May.

Among others, the summit should address issues of higher rates of investment, job creation, economic restructuring and improved efficiency and productivity, and greater social equity. All the social partners will have to indicate what they will contribute to the common effort to tackle these various challenges.

For its part, the Government has been working on its own contribution, some of which is indicated in this state of the nation

address. We will complete our submission in the near future and make it available to the participants at the Growth and Development Summit. We urge our social partners to finalise their own inputs so that the next stage of the preparations for the summit can commence as soon as possible.

In addition to what we have said, the Government's economic programme will focus on: continued implementation of our existing microeconomic reform programme; investment in the economic infrastructure and other measures; small and medium business development; micro-credit for productive purposes; black economic empowerment; and job creation.

The hon members will remember that three years ago we announced a microeconomic reform programme, which took advantage of the achievements we had made in stabilising our macroeconomic environment.

This included focused action in specific growth areas such as agriculture, mining, tourism, cultural industries, information technology, clothing and textiles, vehicle manufacturing and chemicals. We will now add to this list the aerospace sector, as well as call centres and back office business processing.

In addition, specific programmes will be put in place this year to improve assistance to, and expand the pool of exporters. These include changes to the Export Marketing Assistance Scheme and upgrading our representation in strategic markets abroad. The successes in the automobile and components sector also point to the work that needs to be done to use a simplified tariff book as an instrument of industrial policy. Greater focus will also be paid to the service sector, including the expansion of the ICT youth internship programme.

More than R100 billion has been set aside for capital expenditure in the MTEF period, including, at the national level, R55 billion

for infrastructure. Planned investment by the major state corporations for 2003 is at least R32 billion.

This investment will include key economic infrastructure projects such as the construction in the coming period of the John Ross Highway to Richards Bay, a dam on the Olifants River in the Limpopo Province to provide water for platinum mining and agriculture, the construction of Ngqura (Coega) port and concessionalising of the Durban Container Terminal.

The improvement of infrastructure at the KwaZulu-Natal coast includes the relocation of Durban International Airport to La Mercy and the establishment of the Dube Trade Port. Within eight months details in this regard should be finalised for the private sector to be invited to take part in the project. Massive investments will be dedicated to upgrading and acquiring railway rolling stock as well as the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme, which, after extensive consultations, should start this year.

Further work will also be done to improve the infrastructure at our major border posts to facilitate movement of people and goods. Necessarily, this must be accompanied by the appropriate staffing of these transit points to eliminate inefficiencies that derive from under-trained personnel.

Further to reduce the cost of doing business in our country, with regard to liquid fuels, the Government has decided to replace the in-bond landed cost pricing mechanism with what is referred to as the basic fuel price formula.

This new approach, which we believe will save fuel users more than R1-billion a year, will be phased in, starting in April this year. [Applause.] We wish to assure the industry that this process will be handled in a manner that does not adversely affect the sustainability of the industry and elements of black economic empowerment already agreed upon.

With regard to the restructuring of state assets, hon members know that we will soon proceed with the listing of Telkom. Work will also go ahead towards the introduction of a second national telecommunications operator. We have already mentioned the initiatives affecting the transport sector. Further work will be done relating to electricity.

The Government will also continue to work on public-private partnerships to increase its capacity to respond to the needs of our people. Fifty of these are already operational in such areas as health, education, transport, housing, information technology, tourism, and government accommodation.

The development and support for small and medium business and the co-operative sector remains a priority for Government. Accordingly, more financial and other resources will be committed to the development of this sector of our economy. This will also see increased support for business chambers and business development organisations, and the expansion of the business mentorship programme.

Women-owned businesses will receive additional support through the South African Women Entrepreneurs Network (SAWEN), which was launched last year. [Applause.] Similarly, we will continue to pay attention to the important area of agricultural development.

We will table legislation amending the Small Business Act, among other things, to establish a nationwide advocacy body to act as the voice of this sector and to ensure that support for SMEs is available at the local level throughout the country.

With regard to the rural areas, this year we will complete the processing of the Communal Land Bill, not only to ensure certainty in the ownership of assets by families in rural areas, including women, but also to encourage small-scale and co-operative agricultural production and thus improved food security. As the Bill indicates, this will be

done in such a way that communal relations and elements of culture consistent with democracy and human rights are not undermined. In this context, certainly Government has no intention to marginalise the traditional system of government.

The Government recognises the importance of the microenterprise sector with regard to the task of poverty alleviation. We have therefore established an Apex Fund to provide microcredit to people at the grassroots level. Discussions with institutions active in this field will be concluded soon so that the funds set aside reach the people in need as soon as possible.

Despite continuing improvements in the capacity of the economy to create new jobs, the issue of unemployment remains one of our major challenges. Fundamentally, the solution to this problem is dependent on our achieving the necessary rates of growth and development in the economy. Accordingly, everything we have said about the economy also relates directly to the issue of job creation.

In this context we must raise the critically important question of human resource development. As hon. members know, we launched our Human Resources Development Strategy in June 2001. This strategy covers the entire spectrum from early childhood development, primary and secondary education, technical and vocational training, through adult basic education, to skills enhancement through the Sector Education and Training Authorities, on-the-job training in the public works programmes, and specialised institutions such as the projected Advanced Institute for Information and Communication Technology.

As we have already indicated, by the middle of the year we should have an accurate picture of the skills profile and skills shortages in the Public Service. Progress is also being made in identifying such shortages in the private sector. We are doing this work so

that we are able to focus our human resource development strategy correctly.

Despite the problems they have experienced, the SETAs have already shown what can be achieved. By the end of last year, over 23 000 learners had or were participating in training programmes ranging from entry level programmes to professional level and post-professional training across the entire spectrum of occupations and sectors.

To increase access to these programmes by the unemployed, the Government will take the lead in bringing more of these unemployed into its own training programmes. We trust that the private sector will also do the same as part of the common contribution to the objectives of the Growth and Development Summit.

As we have also indicated, we will use the expanded public works programme to provide on-the-job training to the workers that will carry out this programme. Again this will concentrate on the sector among our working people that is marginalised by virtue of low educational and skills levels.

We are convinced that sustained and correctly focused work in the area of human resource development, together with the varied economic interventions we have mentioned, will help the country in the effort to attend to the important challenge of unemployment. In this regard, the Government will also present to our social partners a framework for an employment strategy to ensure that we create the best possible conditions for a concerted drive to reduce the levels of unemployment.

As we approach the end of the first decade of our new democracy, the need for an economic transformation that brings about effective and significant black economic empowerment becomes more pressing. We believe that it is in the interests of all citizens that we succeed in this endeavour. Through a far-sighted partnership between all sectors of our society we can ensure a stable and

growing economy that erases the inequities of the past and draws us all—irrespective of our race, sex or creed—into a more prosperous and equitable future.

The Government concurs with the view of the Black Economic Empowerment Council report that it is now necessary to make our policies on black economic empowerment more explicit. In the light of the important developments in industries such as liquid fuels, fishing and mining we need to ensure clarity and certainty for all economic actors.

The Government is firmly of the view that economic growth, development and black economic empowerment are complementary and related processes. The empowerment we speak of is an inclusive process and not an exclusive one. No economy can meet its potential if any part of its citizens is not fully integrated into all aspects of that economy. Equally, it follows that an economy that is not growing cannot integrate all its citizens into that economy in a meaningful way.

The Government has prepared a detailed set of proposals on black economic empowerment and the Minister of Trade and Industry and the Department of Trade and Industry, on behalf of Government, have consulted extensively. Today I will set out the basic framework and approach. On Budget Day the Minister of Finance will deal with the Government's positive financial and macroeconomic assessment of the BEE process and shortly thereafter the Minister of Trade and Industry will publish the detailed documents and processes that I will now outline.

We will introduce into Parliament early this year a basic enabling piece of legislation that will establish broad parameters for the policy and allow for the publication of the strategy document and guidelines dealing with good practice in terms of the policy, all of which will make up the Global Transformation Charter. This approach has been adopted to allow pragmatism and flexibility within the different components of the

economy. A rigid and inflexible approach is not in the best interests of a modern and globally competitive economy.

However, by passing such an enabling Act we wish to signal to all that meaningful economic transformation is fundamental to our collective prosperity. As with all Acts, the Bill will be open to comment in the parliamentary process.

With the publication of the guidelines shortly we intend to establish certainty and stability. It is not in the interests of the economy that we have continuously moving goal posts. However, we also need to ensure that we respond effectively to changing circumstances—as we do with all policy—and to this end we will establish a non-statutory advisory council.

Empowerment is defined as a broad-based process and the scorecard approach—covering ownership, management, employment equity, skills development, procurement, corporate social responsibility, investment and enterprise formation—developed in the Mining Charter, has been adopted.

The guidelines will provide more precision as to what can be defined as black-owned enterprises. The actions and outcomes that are within BEE policy will be spelt out. Government does not seek to encourage charters for every sector of the economy. This is unrealistic and not necessarily useful. The basic guideline is that where Government disposes of any right, licence or partnership arrangement, then BEE components to the arrangement will be clearly spelt out. This is in line with existing practice. A charter therefore best serves certain sectors.

Accordingly, Government is supportive of the work being done in the financial sector. If enterprises in a sector feel that they need a charter they should be clear on their objectives and take advice from Government. The guidelines will set out the basic principles that should be contained in any charter and

will make it clear that there needs to be consultation at all times so as to involve all stakeholders.

We would stress, however, that all enterprises will be encouraged to utilise the guidelines on empowerment and to develop their own scorecard approach. Certainly in any dealing of significance with the public sector this will be expected of an enterprise.

The Government will lay greatest stress on black economic empowerment that is associated with growth, development and enterprise development and not merely redistribution of existing wealth. We will work in partnership with the private sector and will further ensure that Government actions are co-ordinated and monitored.

Over the past three years our security agencies have been hard at work implementing the National Crime Prevention Strategy targeted at priority crimes and policing areas with the highest incidence of serious crimes. We can say with confidence that definite progress is being made in this regard. We will continue to improve the capacity of the Police Service to discharge its crime prevention and combating responsibilities in these priority areas.

Since 1999 the rates of serious crime in targeted areas has either been reduced or stabilised. Murder has been reduced by almost 17%. Case backlogs and the number of awaiting trial prisoners have been reduced as a result of the implementation of Saturday courts and improvements in the integrated justice system.

Crimes against women and children have received priority attention, including the establishment of more sexual offences courts. Eleven of these were launched in the past six months alone. Better intelligence capacity has improved the prevention and combating of crimes such as bank robberies, cash-in-transit heists and hijacking of vehicles.

Before we identify the challenges for the coming year, we take this opportunity to thank all the security agencies for the sterling work that they did during the course of last year in securing both the launch of the African Union and arguably the best international conference ever held, the World Summit on Sustainable Development... [Applause]... and now the ICC Cricket World Cup.

I am pleased to convey to the Ministers and Deputy Ministers responsible as well as the leaders and members of these agencies the congratulations of many leaders across the globe for the excellent work they have done to guarantee the security of important visitors to our country. [Applause.]

Last year we were suddenly confronted with terrorist attacks for which a number of people have now been arrested and charged. Our security forces will continue to work on this challenge. At the same time we will do everything possible to get to the bottom of this matter, being convinced that no normal South African has any reason to resort to force to communicate his or her views.

The campaign to reduce the number of illegal firearms and other weapons will continue. A considerable proportion of crimes against the person, including murder, the abuse of women and children, assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm and common assault, take place among the most marginalised sections of our population. In many instances they are also connected to alcohol and drug abuse. It is therefore necessary that we adopt a multisector approach to deal with these crimes in the poor and underdeveloped areas of our country.

Measures will be taken to ensure that the structures meant to support the security agencies, such as the SANDF commandos and police reservists are properly regulated to do what they were set up for. In this regard, in order to ensure security for all in the rural areas including the farmers, Gov-

ernment will start in the near future to phase out SANDF commandos, at the same time as we create in their place, a new system whose composition and ethos accord with the requirements of all rural communities. [Applause.]

More attention will be paid to stricter border control. This will require, among other things, improving the capacity of the Department of Home Affairs to carry out its tasks, including the implementation of the new immigration legislation. Critical posts will be filled, and the automated Home Affairs National Identification System will be launched. It will also be necessary to upgrade the population register, and deal with corruption across the board, including security at government printers where identity and other documents are produced.

The programme to deal with case backlogs will continue, including increasing the number of Saturday and specialised courts. In this regard, the Letsamea of legal practitioners from outside of Government in this programme is highly appreciated. We are pleased that this year the Constitutional Court will move into its new and permanent home on Constitutional Hill in Johannesburg. Further improvement in the physical infrastructure required by our judicial system is also represented by the new Khayelitsha Magistrate's Court, nationally the second biggest after Johannesburg, which we will open officially later this year.

Taking advantage of the findings of the Jali commission, we will launch a determined programme to root out the corruption and mismanagement found in sections of our Correctional Service.

Our success in the sphere of the criminal justice system will also depend on strengthening the partnerships of the Letsamea campaign, with communities volunteering to assist the security agencies in their work. Again, in this area, as in all others, conditions are ripe for us to forge a people's contract for a safer and better South Africa.

As hon members are aware, we returned some ten days ago from the Extra Ordinary Summit of the African Union in Addis Ababa, where Africa reasserted the wish of the continent for global peace, security and development. In this context, it expressed itself in favour of the peaceful resolution of the question of Iraq.

At this summit, the AU took specific decisions on proposed amendments to the Constitutive Act of the Union, and steps towards the setting up of the Commission of the AU and the ratification of the Protocols on the Peace and Security Council and the African Parliament.

This year marks the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Organisation of African Unity. This Africa Day, May 25th 2003, will be an opportunity for South Africa to host dignitaries from across the continent as we affirm continuity in the objectives of the continent, and at the same time celebrate the positive changes that the formation of the AU will certainly bring. I am certain that all our people will celebrate this day with the honour and dignity that it deserves.

A critical part of the positive changes heralded by the formation of the African Union is its programme of development, *Nepad*. Considerable progress was made during the course of last year to cement partnerships within Africa and further afield, so that we can translate *Nepad*, without delay, into concrete projects that will impact positively on the lives of the people of the continent. We are heartened by the fact that Africa's sense of urgency to start implementing this programme is shared by governments, the private sector and civil society on all continents.

Within weeks, the *Nepad* Implementation Committee will finalise criteria, standards, institutions and legal instruments for the peer review mechanism, pending the setting up of relevant institutions within the African Union. More critically, in various regions of the continent, work continues to identify and

FRIDAY, 3 FEBRUARY 2006

PROCEEDINGS OF THE JOINT SITTING

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The Speaker of the National Assembly and the Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces took the Chair.

The Speaker of the National Assembly requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

CALLING OF JOINT SITTING

The Speaker of the National Assembly announced that the President had called a Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces in terms of Joint Rule 7(1), on Friday, 3 February 2002, at 11:00, to enable him to deliver his annual address to Parliament.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker of the National Assembly, Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces, Deputy Speaker and Deputy Chairperson of the National Assembly and the NCOP, Deputy President of the Republic, hon leaders of our political parties and hon members of Parliament, Ministers and Deputy Ministers, our esteemed Chief Justice and members of the judiciary, heads of our Security Services, Governor of the Reserve Bank, the hon F W de Klerk and Mrs de Klerk, Mrs Graca Machel, Mr Jacob Zuma, distinguished Premiers and Speakers of our provinces, mayors and leaders in our system of local government, our honoured traditional leaders, heads of the state organs supporting our democratic system, directors-general and other leaders of the Public Service, Your Excellencies Ambassadors and High Commissioners, distinguished guests, friends and comrades, people of South Africa: First of all I would like to acknowledge and welcome on this occasion some distinguished personalities who are sitting in the gallery of this hallowed Chamber. I am referring here to the esteemed Graca Machel, whom I mention in particular because this year we will commemorate the death of the first president of independent Mozambique, Samora Machel, who died in a mysterious plane crash at Mbuzini in Mpumalanga 20 years ago this year. [Applause.]

I am referring also to the Reverend Fathers, Revs Mgojo and Xundu, and Yasmin Sooka, who served the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in various capacities, and some of those who petitioned the commission to promote the noble cause of peace, truth and reconciliation in our country. [Applause.]

I refer also to Ella Gandhi, granddaughter of the irreplaceable Mahatma Gandhi, who, one hundred years ago, here in South Africa, launched Satyagraha, the unique nonviolent struggle that liberated India and inspired millions of freedom fighters everywhere else in the world. [Applause.]

We take this opportunity to remember the martyrs who were brutally murdered - assassinated - in Matola, in Mozambique, and welcome their relatives who are with us today . . . [Applause.] . . . and remember the leader of our people Joe Gqabi, who was killed in Zimbabwe. [Applause.]

Present among us also are Inkosi Zondi and Oscar Zondi, patriots from KwaZulu-Natal who are working to ensure that the nation honours the Bambata Rebellion of a century ago in a fitting manner. [Applause.]

We are also honoured to have in our midst Sophie de Bruyn and others present in the House who were part of the heroic women who marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria 50 years ago on August 9, 1956 . . . [Applause.] . . . thus placing the women of our country in the frontline of our struggle for national liberation.

The representatives of the youth that rose up in revolt 30 years ago, in the Soweto uprising, sit everywhere in this House . . . [Applause.] . . . including on the benches of the ruling party, and have therefore had no need to have special representatives sitting in the gallery of the House. [Laughter.]

I am honoured to acknowledge the presence in the gallery of an outstanding human being and friend of our country and people, the leading Indian Bollywood actor, Anil Kapoor. [Applause.]

All of us are deeply moved that Anil Kapoor, a citizen of the beloved land of Mahatma Gandhi, has agreed to serve as one of South Africa's global brand ambassadors, committed to mobilise the peoples of the world to support our efforts to make a success of our liberation. [Applause.]

On behalf of our government and all our people, I extend our heartfelt welcome to all these distinguished guests and thank them for honouring our nation today by their presence on this important national occasion.

Speaking at the very first annual regular opening of our democratic Parliament, on 24 May 1994, almost a month after the historic April 27 elections in which, for the first time ever, the people of our country freely decided together who should govern our country, the hon Nelson Mandela issued an historic challenge that, and I quote:

. . . we must, constrained by and yet regardless of the accumulated effect of our historical burdens, seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny.

Perhaps what the nation has done and not done during the years of the democratic epoch, that have accumulated since Nelson Mandela delivered the first State of the Nation Address on 24 May 1994 has created the possibility for us to reiterate the call he made on that day to all of us as South Africans, nearly twelve years ago, together "to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny".

On that day in May 1994, the hon Nelson Mandela evoked the haunting memory of an extraordinary South African, Ingrid Jonker, who committed suicide just over 40 years ago, in

the same sea waters that isolated his former involuntary temporary home, Robben Island, from our mainland, as she was isolated from and by her kith and kin. Of her he said:

In the midst of despair, she celebrated hope. Confronted with death, she asserted the beauty of life. In the dark days when all seemed hopeless in our country, when many refused to hear her resonant voice, she took her own life.

To her and others like her, we owe a debt to life itself. To her and others like her, we owe a commitment to the poor, the oppressed, the wretched and the despised.

Nelson Mandela said that, in the aftermath of the massacre at the anti-pass demonstrations in Sharpeville, Langa and Nyanga, she wrote:

Die kind is nie dood nie
die kind lig sy vuiste teen sy moeder
wat Afrika skreeu . . .

die kind wat net wou speel in die son by Nyanga is orals
die kind wat 'n man geword het trek deur die ganse Afrika
die kind wat 'n reus geword het reis deur die hele wêreld

Sonder 'n pas

The child is not dead
the child lifts his fists against his mother
who shouts Africa . . .

this child who only wanted to play in the sun at Nyanga is everywhere
the child grown to a man treks on through all Africa
the child grown to a giant journeys through the whole world
Without a pass!

Nelson Mandela continued:

And in this glorious vision (Ingrid Jonker) instructs that our endeavours must be about the liberation of the woman, the emancipation of the man and the liberty of the child. It is these things that we must achieve to give meaning to our presence in this Chamber and give purpose to our occupancy of the seat of government.

And so we must, constrained by and yet regardless of the accumulated effect of our historical burdens, seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny.

Confronted by this historic challenge, I dare say that no one in our country can, like Shakespeare's Macbeth, grieve that in the period since that distinguished son of our people, Nelson Mandela, delivered our first State of the Nation Address, all we can truthfully say, with Macbeth, about our country's fate is:

To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day

To the last syllable of recorded time,
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death . . .

Indeed I believe that for many of us our country's evolution away from its apartheid past seems to have moved at such a hectic pace that even some of the seminal moments marking the birth of our democracy, that is less than two decades old, present themselves in the subconscious mind as being mere chapters in an aging historical record of a distant past.

Nothing that has happened during the age of democracy could justify the conclusion, similar to the one that Macbeth arrived at, that any of our yesterdays has only served to guide fools to avoidable catastrophe.

On the contrary, the age of democracy has given itself moral legitimacy by ensuring that Ingrid Jonker lives on, a heroine to all our people. The child, she knew, had not died, despite the apartheid bullet through its head, and is now grown to a giant and treks on through all Africa and the whole world, without a pass! [Applause.]

This year we will have occasion to remind ourselves of, and celebrate, two of the seminal moments to which I have referred. One of these is the 15th anniversary of the holding of the first meeting of Codesa on 20 December 1991, and the adoption of the vitally important Declaration of Intent the following day. The other is the 10th anniversary of the adoption of our Constitution on 8 May 1996.

Among other things, the Codesa Declaration of Intent said:

We . . . declare our solemn commitment to bring about an undivided South Africa with one nation sharing a common citizenship, patriotism and loyalty, pursuing amidst our diversity, freedom, equality and security for all irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed; a country free from apartheid or any other form of discrimination or domination.

The importance of this particular moment in our history, both for our country and the peoples of the world, was underlined by the presence at Codesa of international observers from the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth.

In a joint statement, these representatives of important international organisations said:

Codesa must herald the dawn of a new era of peace and justice. The broad objectives expressed in the Declaration of Intent are a most constructive and auspicious beginning for Codesa and give promise of attainment of a true democracy for South Africa . . . We hope that all the representatives of the South African people will join in the rebuilding of their country.

Periods of a decade and a decade and a half are but fleeting moments in the life of any nation. In our case we have lived through these years conscious of the enormous effort it would require of all of us to unshackle our country from the heavy chains that tie it to its past.

We have known that it would take considerable time before we could say we have eradicated the legacy of the past. We have expected that the circumstances handed down to us by our

history would indeed condemn us to a “petty pace” of progress towards the achievement of the goal of a better life for all.

And yet today, as I stand here to speak to the hon members of our national, provincial and local legislatures, an important component part of our national political leadership, other echelons of that leadership, and our international guests, I feel emboldened to appropriate for our people the promise contained in the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, when God said:

For you shall go out with joy,
and be led out in peace;
the mountains and the hills
shall break forth into singing before you,
and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.

[Applause.]

Instead of the thorn shall come up the cypress tree

And instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree . . .

Kuba niya kuphuma ninovuyo,
Nithundezwe ninoxolo.
Iintaba neenduli ziya kugqabhuka
Zimemelele phambi kwenu,
Imithi yasendle ibethe izandla.

Esikhundleni somqaqoba kuya kuphuma imisedare,
Esikhundleni serhawu kuya kunyuka imirtile . . .

What has been achieved since Nelson Mandela delivered his first State of the Nation Address, and what we can do, given the larger resources that have since been generated, has surely given hope to the masses of our people, that it is possible for all Africa to hear the mountains and the hills singing before them.

When he addressed the United Nations General Assembly 14 years ago on 18 February 1992, a mere two months after our nation established Codesa, the then chairperson of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid said:

During the next few months, the Special Committee will need to closely monitor developments, in order to identify all factors threatening to derail the process in South Africa and to issue early warnings accordingly. We will thus pay particular attention to the underlying causes of violence. The level and the nature of violence continue to be extremely disturbing. More than 2 600 persons lost their lives in 1991 as a result of politically related violence.

Reading this today, wondering what could have gone wrong that so many people had to lose their lives needlessly, it becomes difficult to avoid the conclusion that “yesterday was another country!”

Sars of openness with regard to violators of the law, regardless of social standing, will be maintained. Urgent work is proceeding to determine the possibility of establishing special commercial crime courts as soon as possible, as well as the gathering of the necessary complement of intelligence officers, investigators and prosecutors to ensure that we deal effectively with white-collar crime.

The caring society of which we have spoken must, of course, successfully address the challenge of meeting the material needs of our people. The Reconstruction and Development Programme, RDP, and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme, Gear, were implemented by our first democratic government to achieve socioeconomic transformation and macro-economic stability. The structural changes entailed within these processes were also to take place within the context of our economy becoming more competitive as it integrated itself within the global economy. The RDP and Gear will remain the basic policy objectives of the new Government to achieve sustainable growth, development and improved standards of living.

At the same time, we will actively address any remaining impediments to investment and job creation. Where the structural changes already achieved allow us to evolve new policies, we will do so. Among other things, the revised GDP figures announced on 21 June confirm both the structural change that has taken place within our economy and the fact of a more robust economic performance than the pessimists would have us believe.

The challenge remains for all of us to get to know the real South Africa and, in this context, to fight back to defeat a frame of mind which drives some among us to hope and pray for failure and to celebrate such failure whenever it has occurred, or when we have convinced ourselves that it has occurred. [Applause.] Our task is to build on the achievements reflected in the economic realities reflected in the figures issued by Statistics South Africa at the beginning of this week.

Accordingly, we have to work to increase both the level of investment and the savings ratio. This will include further steps to eliminate any dissaving by the state and to introduce incentives to encourage

saving. The improvements in the deficit and debt ratios indicated in the latest GDP figures will also give us some space further to increase public sector capital expenditure. [Applause.] This will strengthen the improvement in capital expenditure by public authorities and public corporations reported in the GDP figures to which we have referred.

The further transformation of the state machinery will result in changes to the public expenditure patterns against personnel costs in favour of capital expenditure, including maintenance. These processes will also involve the provincial sphere of government.

The Municipal Infrastructure Programme is now beginning to progress. To increase the momentum requires further improvements in local government financial management. It also requires concerted action to promote public-private partnerships, which must be constructed on a fiscally sound and sustainable basis. These matters, affecting the critical local government sphere, will be attended to in a vigorous manner.

Investment in the public sector is closely associated with the restructuring of state assets. Progress in this area has been made over the last five years. We are now at a stage where further important restructuring can and will take place. In the telecommunications sector there will be further developments with the issuing of new licences. This will have a further positive impact on the expansion and modernisation of our telecommunications infrastructure, the affordability of services to consumers and investment in the economy.

I am happy to inform hon members that former Minister Jay Naidoo will continue to work in this sector to assist in its further development domestically and to promote the African connection, which is a critical element of the African renaissance. [Applause.]

Some of the most important developments with regard to the restructuring of state assets will relate to Transnet. In part, the priority given to this corporation arises from the fact that the transport and logistic system it contains underpins the success of other major investment projects. These include the spatial development initiatives, the

industrial development zones, cross-border initiatives and the industrial participation programmes arising out of the defence procurement, as well as our overall export drive.

The complex work that had to be done to prepare the Transnet corporation for its restructuring enabled us to put part of the national carrier, South African Airways, on the market. I am pleased to announce that the winning bidder is Swissair, which will acquire 20% of SAA at a price of R1.4 billion. [Applause.]

We are very satisfied with this result, convinced that it will bring maximum benefits to our country, further strengthen our relations with the Confederation of Switzerland and again demonstrate in practical terms the importance of a measured approach towards the important issue of the restructuring of our public assets.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate our new strategic partner, and to thank the hon Stella Sigau for the work she did to enable us to reach the important stage we have, during which we will deal with the other business units within the Transnet group.

Similarly, the liquid fuels and petro-chemical industry will be given priority, with the Ministries of Minerals and Energy, Trade and Industry and Public Enterprises acting together. This will include finalisation of discussions with the Government of Mozambique with regard to a gas pipeline from their gas fields to South Africa. The outcome of these processes will result in adding a highly competitive dimension to the productive economies of Southern Africa.

The Government will continue to intensify its work to facilitate investment by the private sector, ensuring that the institutions that have been established to promote investment and the system of incentives achieve the desired results. In order to improve our effectiveness in these areas further, we will shortly establish an International Investment Council. This prestigious council, which will include some of the leading players in the global economy who are driven by a passionate desire to ensure that we succeed as a country, will work with the President, as well as our leading business people and trade unionists, to help us

ensure that South Africa is an attractive destination for foreign investment.

Consistent with our determination to strengthen our partnership with the people for the achievement of our common goals, four working groups will also be established bringing Government together with big business, the black business sector, commercial agriculture and the trade unions.

The development of small, medium and microenterprises remains a top priority of Government. Accordingly, new measures will have to be instituted to record more success than has been the case to date. We have listened very carefully to what the actors in this area of the economy have said. Accordingly, the policy and institutional framework to support and encourage this sector is being reviewed. We will announce new decisions in this regard within the next three months.

The Government will also place more emphasis on the development of a co-operative movement to combine the financial, labour and other resources among the masses of the people, rebuild our communities and engage the people in their own development through sustainable economic activity. [Applause.]

There are two other areas that have an impact on investment. Interest rates remain high. The Reserve Bank and the Ministry of Finance will continue to address this matter carefully, conscious of the negative impact these high rates have on the desired higher rates of investment and growth. The other area that has attracted considerable comment is the labour market and its actual or perceived impact on investment and job creation. Much of this commentary is ill-informed or promotes a particular ideological and political point of view. The most recent independent study on this issue was published by the H.O in February, this year. The report states, and I quote:

One of the key findings of the study was that when compared to other middle-income countries, labour regulations on dismissal, fixed-term contracts and working conditions do not appear to be particularly onerous... A degree of numerical adaptability at exit does

And yet during the very same year that we adopted our Constitution, Amnesty International could still report that:

At least 500 people were killed in continuing political violence in KwaZulu-Natal; some appeared to have been extrajudicially executed. Reports of torture and ill-treatment in police custody continued. Four people were killed by right-wing opponents of the government. Further evidence emerged, through court proceedings and Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings, of official involvement in human rights violations under the former government.

Fifteen years ago the international community was expressing deep concern about factors threatening to derail the process in our country towards ending white minority rule, including the violence then claiming too many lives, and found it necessary to appeal to all our people to act together to end apartheid and rebuild the country.

The peoples of the world could have reiterated their concern about political violence in our country even five years later, as we took a giant step forward by adopting our Constitution.

Happily, in time, we managed to break free of the uncertainty about a bright future for our country, dramatically represented by the large numbers of people killed throughout the years from 1990 to 1996, when we were engaged in negotiations to establish our democratic order.

This year opened with the inspiring news that our people were highly optimistic about their future and the future of our country, ranking eighth in the world on the optimism index. Gallup International, which issued this report, said we had three times more optimists than pessimists, and that the optimism figure had even doubled since 2002. [Applause.]

This compared sharply with the situation in 1993, when our country was still in the grip of the crisis that had been of so much concern to the international community and us. That year, our country had more pessimists than optimists, signifying the prevalence of a mood of despair generated in part by the cold-blooded assassination that year of one of our outstanding leaders, Chris Hani.

The results obtained by Gallup International have been confirmed by a recent domestic poll conducted by Markinor. According to this poll, 65% of our people believe that our country is going in the right direction, 84% think that our country holds out a happy future for all racial groups . . . [Applause.] . . . and 71% believe that government is performing well. [Applause.]

With regard to the economy, late last month the Grant Thornton International Business Owners Survey reported that 84% of South Africa's business owners are optimistic about the year ahead, making them the third most optimistic internationally. [Applause.] Again last month, the First National Bank and the Bureau for Economic Research reported that the consumer confidence index was at its highest in 25 years. [Applause.]

What all these figures signify is that our people are firmly convinced that our country has entered its Age of Hope. They are convinced that we have created the conditions to achieve more rapid progress towards the realisation of their dreams. They are certain that we are indeed a winning nation. [Applause.]

Through our national effort they can see the relevance to our situation of God's blessings communicated in the Book of the Prophet Isaiah:

For you shall go out with joy,
and be led out in peace;
the mountains and the hills
shall break forth into singing before you,
and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.

[Applause.]

The inspiring perspective about our future shared by the majority of our people derives from what our country has achieved first to overcome the obstacles to freedom we faced before 1994, the advances we have made since then to consolidate our democracy while promoting nonracism and nonsexism, the progress we have made to alleviate the poverty afflicting millions of our people, and the strides we have made to expand and modernise our economy.

We owe these outstanding achievements to the sterling efforts made by all our people in all walks of life. To that extent I would like to take the opportunity of this State of the Nation Address to salute and thank all our people for responding to the call made by Nelson Mandela in 1994 from this podium, when he said:

We must, constrained by and yet regardless of the accumulated effect of our historical burdens, seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny.

[Applause.]

Millions did indeed seize the time and, in action, defined ours as a shared destiny of peace, democracy, nonracism, nonsexism, shared prosperity and a better life for all. It is because of what these millions did that our people know from their own experience that today is better than yesterday, and are confident that tomorrow will be better than today. [Applause.]

While we must indeed celebrate the high levels of optimism that inspire our people, who are convinced that our country has entered its Age of Hope, we must also focus on and pay particular attention to the implications of those high levels of optimism with regard to what we must do together to achieve the objective of a better life for all our people. We have to respond to the hopes of the people by doing everything possible to meet their expectations.

And here I include among those who have to respond to the high expectations of our people not just the government, but also the private sector, the labour unions and the rest of civil society, and patriotic individuals.

In the period ahead of us, we have to sustain the multifaceted national effort that enabled us to realise the advances that have inspired so much confidence among our people for a better tomorrow. On behalf of our government I would therefore like to use this important landmark in our national life to repeat the appeal made by Nelson Mandela 12 years ago, that together "we must . . . seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny".

And I dare say that essentially all of us are very familiar with what the people expect, which would confirm that they were not wrong to conclude that our country has entered its Age of Hope.

The Markinor survey to which we have referred indicates some of the concerns of our people. Whereas, as we have indicated, 71% believe that the government is generally performing well, only 56% think the government is responding well to our economic challenges, with the figure dropping to 54% with regard to the cluster of Justice functions.

We must also note that the government's approval rating with regard to the economy moves in tandem with the levels of income. Significantly, 72% approve of the government's efforts in various areas of social delivery. In contrast, only 45% believe that the sphere of local government is performing well.

The hon members will also be pleased to know that a survey conducted by the Government Communication and Information System shows that 90% of our population is proud of our country, our flag and national anthem, while 60% consider Freedom Day, 27 April, as the most important national day.

The outcomes of these surveys communicate the unequivocal message that our people expect that:

- we should move faster to address the challenges of poverty, underdevelopment and marginalisation confronting those caught within the Second Economy, to ensure that the poor in our country share in our growing prosperity;
- we should make the necessary interventions with regard to the First Economy to accelerate progress towards the achievement of higher levels of economic growth and development of at least 6% a year;
- we must sustain and improve the effectiveness of our social development programmes targeted at providing a cushion of support to those most exposed to the threat of abject poverty;
- we must act more aggressively with regard to our criminal justice system to improve the safety and security of our people, especially by improving the functioning of our courts and increasing our conviction rates to strengthen the message that crime does not pay;
- we must ensure that the machinery of government, especially the local government sphere, discharges its responsibilities effectively and efficiently, honouring the precepts of Batho Pele; and
- we must harness the Proudly South African spirit that is abroad among the people to build the strongest possible partnership between all sections of our population to accelerate our advance towards the realisation of the important goal of a better life for all.

Our government is committed to respond with all necessary seriousness and determination to all these challenges, and play its role to give new content to our Age of Hope. I am honoured

to have this opportunity to announce some of the elements of the programme of our government to honour that commitment.

The hon members and the country at large are aware that, under the leadership of Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, the three spheres of government have been working together for some months now to elaborate the specific interventions that will ensure that Asgisa, the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa, succeeds in its purposes, which include the reduction of the unemployment levels.

In this regard I would like to thank the members of the private sector, the trade union movement, women, youth and civil society who have participated in this process, making valuable input into an important initiative that must be owned and implemented by our people as a whole.

I must also take advantage of this occasion to explain that Asgisa is not intended to cover all elements of a comprehensive development plan. Rather it consists of a limited set of interventions that are intended to serve as catalysts to accelerated and shared growth and development.

Otherwise we will continue to engage the nation and all social partners to address other elements of a comprehensive development plan to improve our current programmes, and deal with other issues, such as the comprehensive industrial policy, keeping in mind the objective to halve poverty and unemployment by 2014.

Our government is convinced that favourable conditions exist for us to achieve the accelerated and shared growth to which we are committed. For instance, on 3 January this year, the newspaper *Business Day* commented that:

In South Africa, this promises to be the dawn of a golden age of growth . . . We have now had more than five years of sustained growth – an upswing longer than the boom of the 1960s and indeed longer than anything in the postwar period . . . We are reaping the benefits of years of sound financial and monetary policy as well as of structural reform in the economy.

. . . we are set fairer than we have been in decades to raise the growth rate on a sustainable basis. The trouble is, not all of it is within our control, as much depends on the vagaries of world markets and the global economy . . .

But, make no mistake . . . [T]his economy and this market start to look very different to anything we are used to. And it is certainly a different good, not a different bad.

[Applause.]

We fully agree with these observations, and would add that that “different good” has included significant job creation, a trend that we seek to enhance through Asgisa and our other development programmes.

To implement Asgisa, state-owned enterprises and the public sector as a whole, working in some instances through public-private partnerships, will make large investments in various sectors: to meet the demand for electricity; to provide an efficient and competitive logistics

infrastructure; to expand and modernise the telecommunications infrastructure; and to satisfy the demand for water.

The public sector will also accelerate infrastructure investment in the underdeveloped urban and rural areas of our country through the Municipal Infrastructure Grant, the Expanded Public Works Programme and other infrastructure funds to improve service delivery in the areas of the Second Economy, including the provision of roads and rail; water; energy; housing, schools and clinics; business premises and business support centres; sports facilities; and multipurpose government service centres, including police stations and courts.

An amount of R372 billion will be provided for both these sets of programmes over the next three years.

As hon members would expect, we will continue to pay particular attention to the Expanded Public Works Programme as an important bridge between the two economies and a significant part of our poverty alleviation programme. Among other things, resources for the public works programmes will be pooled to ensure maximum impact both in terms of products delivered, and employment and skills-training opportunities.

Better supervision of infrastructure projects undertaken by government will be introduced to ensure that capital budgets are spent without roll-overs and that labour-intensive methods are prioritised, and the necessary training of workers is carried out to provide them with skills.

Asgisa has also identified particular sectors of our economy for accelerated growth, building on the work already done within the context of our existing Micro-Economic Reform Programme. These include: business process outsourcing; tourism; chemicals; biofuels; metals and metallurgy; wood, pulp and paper; agriculture; the creative industries; and clothing and textiles.

In this regard, work is proceeding apace to address such challenges as the cost of telecommunications, and import parity pricing with regard to steel and chemicals. We have already reached agreement with the People's Republic of China to protect our clothing and textile sector. [Applause.] The second National Telecommunications Operator should become operational later this year. [Applause.]

For Asgisa to succeed, it is clear that the machinery of state, and especially local government, should function effectively and efficiently. During the past year, our government has undertaken a detailed assessment to determine what we need to do to improve the capacity of our system of local government.

As we announced last year, we have been engaged in assessing the capacity of government to discharge its responsibility to help accelerate the process of social transformation. Proceeding from the particular to the general, the audit of a number of national departments has been completed.

These include housing, health, education and trade and industry. Across all these, issues of skills, vacancies, delegation of responsibilities to managers of delivery agencies and relationships between national and provincial departments have emerged as being among the most critical areas requiring attention. Assessments of the other departments will be carried out.

The government will make the necessary interventions to address the issues raised by these assessments, bearing in mind the critical role that government must play as one of our country's most important developmental agencies. We cannot allow that government departments become an obstacle to the achievement of the goal of a better life for all because of insufficient attention to the critical issue of effective and speedy delivery of services. [Applause.]

In this context, we will continue the work towards the creation of one Public Service covering all spheres of government, fully conscious of the complexity of this matter and the need to secure the agreement of all relevant stakeholders. We will also continue to pay the necessary attention to the important issues of the inclusion of women and people with disabilities at decision-making levels of the Public Service. [Applause.]

Everything we have said so far concerning Asgisa points to the inescapable conclusion that, to meet our objectives, we will have to pay particular attention to the issue of scarce skills that will negatively affect the capacity of both the public and the private sectors to meet the goals set by Asgisa.

In this regard, I would therefore like to assure hon members and the country as a whole that, together with our social partners, we have agreed to a vigorous and wide-ranging skills development and acquisition programme to meet any shortfalls we may experience.

Among other things, we have already agreed to establish within a few weeks a multistakeholder working group, Jipsa, the Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition, through which government, business, labour and civil society will act jointly to respond to the skills challenge in as practical a manner as possible.

I would like to extend the sincere thanks of our Deputy President and government as a whole for the response of the Freedom Front Plus and other formations and individuals, who have responded to our appeal for South Africans with the necessary skills to make themselves available to provide the required expertise in project management and other areas. [Applause.] The first group of the 90 already identified and assessed will be deployed in their new posts in May. [Applause.]

We will, of course, also make other interventions in the area of education and training. These include eliminating fees for the poorest quintile of primary schools, targeting 529 schools to double the Mathematics and Science graduate output to 50 000 by 2008, and re-equipping and financing the Further Education and Training colleges. [Applause.]

Last year, we completed the task of registering unemployed graduates, with over 60 000 in the database. We wish to express our appreciation to the many companies that last December pledged to employ some of these graduates. An intensive campaign to link up these graduates with these and other companies will be undertaken this year.

During this year, when we celebrate the 90th anniversary of the establishment of the University of Fort Hare, we will continue to engage the leadership of our tertiary institutions, focused on working with them to meet the nation's expectations with regard to teaching and research. For its part, the government is determined to increase the resource allocation for research, development and innovation, and to increase the pool of young researchers.

Asgisa identified other constraints to growth and development, apart from the issue of skills, the cost of doing business and the unnecessarily high cost of intermediate inputs. Work is proceeding to address all these constraints, including the limited domestic market and monetary and financial issues.

Asgisa has once more confirmed the need for us to expand our micro, small and medium enterprise sector, paying particular attention in this regard to broad-based black economic empowerment, and the development of women and the youth.

We will therefore take the necessary measures to ensure the effectiveness of such existing programmes as the Apex (Micro-credit) Fund, Mafisa (for agricultural development), Seda, the Small Enterprise Development Agency, Khula, the Msobomvu Youth Fund, the IDC Small Business Initiative, and others to make sure that all of these programmes function effectively. We will also intensify our engagement of the Financial Services Charter signatories to help generate the necessary resources for the development of the SMME sector.

Our experience with regard to the development of this sector indicates that we must pay particular attention to issues of access to capital, entrepreneurial training, assistance with marketing, and the development of co-operatives. Further, to contribute to the growth of this sector, the government will reform its procurement programme to access some of its goods and services from small and medium businesses, ensuring that it pays for what it purchases promptly. [Applause.]

We will also speed up the consultative process to determine the measures we must take to improve the regulatory climate to facilitate the expansion of this sector. This intervention will form part of the overall programme to introduce a regulatory impact assessment system to enable the government regularly to assess the impact of its policies on economic activity in the country.

The years of freedom have been very good for business. I believe that this should have convinced the investor community by now that, in its own interests and as part of the national effort, it has to invest in the expansion of that freedom . . . [Applause.] . . . especially by actively and consciously contributing towards the achievement of the goal of halving poverty and unemployment by 2014.

Asgisa, which builds on the results of the Growth and Development Summit, GDS, offers this investor community an excellent opportunity to respond to this challenge in a deliberate and consistent manner, in its own interest.

Similarly, and also as part of the national effort, the trade union movement and civil society as a whole face the challenge to translate into action the commitment they made with the other social partners at the Growth and Development Summit “to a common vision for promoting rising levels of growth, investment, job creation, and people-centred development”.

Asgisa provides a golden opportunity for the social partners to undertake the “collaborative action” they visualised at the Growth and Development Summit focused on “Promoting and mobilising investment and creating decent work for all”.

The impressive growth rates achieved by our economy in the current period have been driven in good measure by high consumer demand, significantly financed through credit. This has increased our imports more than our exports, and despite high commodity prices, the resultant balance of payments deficit has been financed by inflows of foreign capital.

Through Asgisa we will increase the significance of the supply-side drivers of our growth. A corollary of this is, of course, that we must ensure the international competitiveness of the goods and services we produce.

This speaks directly to the common objective agreed by the social partners at the Growth and Development Summit, to "promote rising levels of growth, investment, job creation, and people-centred development."

I have already mentioned the fact that to meet our developmental objectives, which must respond to the high expectations of our people, we will pay special attention to the critical task of strengthening local government.

Our government considers this to be especially important at this stage of our evolution. After the 1 March local government elections all three spheres of government will therefore continue working together to ensure that each and every district and metro municipality is properly positioned to discharge its responsibility to the people.

In particular, this will mean that each of these municipalities has a realistic integrated development plan, a credible local economic development programme, and the material and human resources, as well as the management and operational systems to implement these IDPs and LEDs.

Integration of planning and implementation across the government spheres is therefore one of the prime areas of focus in our programme for the next term of local government. In this regard we will be guided by the Inter-Governmental Relations Framework Act.

We must in practice respect the system of co-operative governance, and within this context ensure that we empower local government to discharge its developmental and service delivery obligations, drawing on the lessons provided by Project Consolidate.

As many of us are aware by now, Project Consolidate has identified serious capacity constraints in many of our municipalities, arising from a shortage of properly qualified managers, and professional and technical personnel. We have taken the necessary decisions to attend to this urgent matter.

To improve the ability, particularly of local government, to meet the needs of the people, by March this year we shall have deployed 3 000 community development workers.

Even as we implement the programmes focused on accelerated and shared growth, with its important element of job creation, we cannot forget that the social wage plays a vital role in our continuing efforts to address the challenges of poverty.

For instance, seven million children now receive the child support grant. A total of 10 million of our citizens receive social grants. Real social expenditure per person increased by 60% between 1983 and 2003. Detailed evidence from a study conducted by Haroon Borat,

Prakash Naidoo and Carlene van der Westhuizen indicates that there has been a consistent shift in expenditure in favour of poorer households.

To improve delivery in this area, we will continue to implement our comprehensive antifraud strategy. Already many of those who have been stealing social grants have been brought to book. [Applause.] This work will improve with the launch of the National Social Security Agency.

In the area of health, over 1 300 clinics have benefited from the upgrading programme and more have received additional equipment; and the programme to revitalise hospitals is proceeding apace. The extension of community service to a range of health professionals has ensured that at any one time over 2 000 such professionals are available in public health institutions.

Our future plans in this area include the further expansion of the health infrastructure, the refurbishment of existing clinics and hospitals, and the reopening of nursing colleges to increase the numbers of these important professionals. [Applause.]

To improve service delivery in our hospitals, by September this year we will ensure that hospital managers are delegated authority and held accountable for the functioning of hospitals, with policy issues regarding training, job grading and accountability managed by the provincial health departments, which themselves will need restructuring properly to play their role.

The Operational Plan for Comprehensive Prevention, Treatment and Care of HIV and Aids has resulted in the upgrading of hundreds of facilities. To date, over 100 000 patients are receiving antiretroviral treatment and, combined with patients in the private sector, South Africa has one of the largest such treatment programmes in the world. [Applause.]

During the course of this year, in addition to accelerating the expansion of our housing stock to address the needs of the homeless, we will take concrete steps to ensure that housing development contributes to eliminating the duality of living spaces inherited from apartheid.

Already, the Ministry of Housing and the SA Local Government Association have reached an agreement on the sale of land for housing development. Through this agreement, municipalities will allocate land close to economic centres for housing development for middle- and lower-income people. [Applause.]

In addition, as part of our effort to help the poor to access housing finance, the National Housing Finance Corporation will be transformed into a Housing Corporation that will provide finance to the poor and middle-income groups. [Applause.]

In this context, we expect our Minister of Housing and the leadership of the financial institutions to reach final agreement without further delay on the modalities for utilising the R42 billion set aside by the financial institutions for housing development for poor and middle-income groups, thus contributing to the National Effort.

This is central to the attainment of a society free of shack settlements, in which all our people enjoy decent housing. In this context, I should also mention that government has decided that

we must completely eradicate, in the established settlements, the “bucket toilets” by the end of 2007. [Applause.]

Land reform and land restitution are critical to the transformation of our society. Accordingly, the state will play a more central role in the land reform programme, ensuring that the restitution programme is accelerated, further contributing to the empowerment of the poor, especially in the rural areas.

The Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs will, during 2006: review the willing-buyer, willing-seller policy . . . [Applause.] . . . review land acquisition models and possible manipulation of land prices; and regulate conditions under which foreigners buy land. [Applause.] This will be done in line with international norms and practices.

The Minister and the department will also ensure that the land redistribution programme is aligned to the Provincial Growth and Development Strategies as well as the Integrated Development Plans of municipalities, as well as attend to the proper use of the funds that have been made available for the productive utilisation of the land.

When we talk about the land question, we must not forget that this year we will commemorate the centenary of the Bambata Uprising in the present day KwaZulu-Natal, which was occasioned by the imposition of a poll tax to drive the people off the land, forcing them to join the ranks of the proletariat. In praise of Bambata it was said:

Inggungqulu eshaya amaphiko
Kwadilika izixhobo eHlenyane.
Izulu eliphose umbane phansi eHlenyane,
Kwacandeka imisululu.
Kwadilika izindonga.

Usibamba nkunzana
Ekade beyesaba
Ngoba ebambe abamhlophe
Umhlane ubelethe amagwala!

[Applause.]

In this year of the 30th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising, we shall ensure that the focus on youth development is intensified in all spheres of government. Among other things, during the next financial year we will set up 100 new youth advisory centres, enrol at least 10 000 young people in the National Youth Service Programme and enrol 5 000 volunteers to act as mentors to vulnerable children. [Applause.]

We will also expand the reach of our business support system to young people and intensify the Youth Co-operatives Programme. We will closely monitor the impact of our programmes on youth skills training and business empowerment as part of our national effort.

The Asgisa process has also helped us greatly by exposing us to the concerns of women with regard to their economic prospects. Among other things, the women have pointed to the need for us to focus on issues of access to finance, development of co-operatives, fast-

tracking women artisans and providing “set-asides” for women in government and public enterprise procurement programmes. [Applause.]

I believe that the very fact that this year we will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Women’s March underlines the need for us to ensure that these issues receive the necessary attention in the implementation of our development programmes.

The government will continue to focus on the critical challenge of further improving our criminal justice system. Among other things, we will focus on integrated law enforcement operations in priority areas, reducing the number of illegal firearms and ensuring better processing of applications for firearm licences, reducing drug trafficking and substance abuse, and implementing social crime prevention measures.

We will further improve caseload management in our courts, build four additional correctional facilities, reduce the number of children in custody, and implement the recommendations of the Jali Commission.

Other important matters include the post-TRC management of cases pertaining to conflicts of the past, processing of legislation on matters pertaining to the rationalisation of our courts, consideration of the recommendations of the Khampepe Commission on the Directorate of Special Operations, and strengthening our intelligence structures to support law enforcement agencies and ensure the security of the state and its citizens.

Perhaps, needless to say, the government will remain focused on the challenge to fight corruption in the public sector and in society at large. We will continue to intensify our offensive on this front, fully aware of the fact that much that happens in our society encourages the entrenchment of a value system based on personal acquisition of wealth by all means and at all costs.

Five months from now, the fifa Soccer World Cup tournament, hosted by Germany, will come to its triumphant end with the passage of the host’s baton to our country. From then on, until 2010, the whole world will watch us carefully to judge whether we will be a worthy host of this prestigious tournament.

I am afraid that our performance in the current African Cup of Nations in Egypt did nothing to advertise our strengths as a winning nation. [Interjections.] However, starting today, the nation must bend every effort to ensure that we meet all the expectations of fifa and the world of soccer, so that we host the best Soccer World Cup ever.

Simultaneously, as we work together to restore the sport of soccer in our country to full health, and prepare a winning national team, we must ensure that we work full steam ahead to get everything else ready for a successful Soccer World Cup.

This will encompass the stadia, broadcast facilities, including high-definition television, the necessary transport and hospitality infrastructure, safety and security, popular support for soccer and the World Cup, and selfless dedication by the local organisers of the tournament.

The 2010 Soccer World Cup will make an important contribution to our effort to accelerate our progress towards the achievement of the goal of a better life for our people. Similarly, as an African Soccer World Cup, it will give additional impetus to our struggle to achieve Africa’s renaissance.

In return for these irreplaceable benefits, we owe it to fifa and the rest of the soccer world to prepare properly for 2010. I trust that the domestic world of soccer will respond to this challenge with all necessary seriousness, commitment and patriotism.

During 2006 we will continue to engage the African challenges, focusing on peace and democracy in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Côte d'Ivoire and Sudan, the strengthening of the African Union and the acceleration of the process of the implementation of the Nepal programmes. In this context we have to ensure that we conduct a successful self-assessment process as we prepare our national report for the African Peer Review Mechanism.

As the current chair of the G77 plus China, we will do everything possible to advance the interests of the South, including in the context of the continuing WTO negotiations, and the urgent challenge to reform the United Nations, including the Security Council.

We remain actively engaged to help find solutions to the various matters relating to the Israel-Palestine and Iranian issues. We are committed to the pursuit of negotiated agreements in this regard, consistent with our long-held views in favour of the formation of a State of Palestine, security for Israel, nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and the use of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

Two anniversaries that we will commemorate this year will serve to emphasise the bonds that tie us to the rest of the world. These are the centenary of Satyagraha, the nonviolent struggle started by Mahatma Gandhi in our country in 1906 and continued in India, and the 20th anniversary of the violent death of President Samora Machel in our country in 1986 in a plane crash that still requires a satisfactory explanation. [Applause.]

Next week we will host a meeting of the Progressive Governance Group, which will bring to our country important leaders from all corners of the globe. Their presence in our country will communicate the message that we cannot and will not walk away from our internationalist responsibility to add our voice to the global effort to create a better world of peace, democracy, a just world order and prosperity for all nations.

Clearly the masses of our people are convinced that our country has entered its Age of Hope. They believe that the country they love, their only homeland, will not disappoint their expectation of an accelerated advance towards the day when they will be liberated from the suffocating tentacles of the legacy of colonialism and apartheid.

They are confident that what our country has done to move us away from our apartheid past has created the conditions for them to appropriate God's blessing to the Prophet Isaiah:

For you shall go out with joy,
and be led out in peace;
the mountains and the hills
shall break forth into singing before you,
and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.

[Applause.]

It is up to all of us, through our National Effort, to build a winning nation, to do all the things that will ensure that the mountains and the hills of our country break forth into singing before all our people, and all the trees of the field clap their hands to applaud the people's season of joy.

I thank you very much. [Applause.]

The CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Order, hon members. I thank the hon President.

The Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces adjourned the Joint Sitting at 12:06.

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making the firm undertaking that we will use the short period ahead of us further to energise our advance towards the realisation of the all-important goal of a better life for all our people.

The entirety of our system of governance is therefore making the commitment that in the period ahead of us it will do its best to live up to the imperative: Business Unusual! We speak of Business Unusual not referring to any changes in our established policies, but with regard to the speedy, efficient and effective implementation of these policies and programmes, so that the lives of our people should change for the better, sooner rather than later.

To make certain that this happens, we have taken the necessary steps to ensure that the Annual Budget the Minister of Finance will present later this month makes the necessary allocations to give us the means to implement the Apex Priorities. The main categories of these priorities are: the further acceleration of our economic growth and development; speeding up the process of building the infrastructure we need to achieve our economic and social goals; improving the effectiveness of our interventions directed at the Second Economy, and poverty eradication; enhancing the impact of our programmes targeting the critically important area of education and training; accelerating our advance towards the achievement of the goal of health for all; revamping the criminal justice system to intensify our offensive against crime; further strengthening the machinery of government to ensure that it has the capacity to respond to our development imperatives; and enhancing our focus on key areas in terms of our system of international relations, with particular focus on some African issues and South-South relations.

More than at any other time, the situation that confronts our nation and country, and the tasks we have set ourselves, demand that we inspire and organise all our people to act together as one, to do all the things that have to be done, understanding that in a very real sense, all of us, together, hold our own future in our hands! As we act together everywhere in our country, this we must also understand that what we have to be about is Business Unusual!

As I was preparing this address, one among us suggested to me that our country was being buffeted by strong cross winds that made it especially difficult to foresee where our country would be tomorrow. He suggested that to capture what he considered the essence of the reality confronting us this morning, I should recall the well-known words with which Charles Dickens opened his novel, *A Tale of Two Cities*. And so I quote these words:

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way - in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only.

You will ask whether I agree with this assessment, whether I too believe that we have entered an era of confusion, in which all of us cannot but lose our way, unsure of our steps, unsteady on our feet, fearful of the future!

My answer to this question is a definite "No!". Like the rest of our government, I am convinced that the fundamentals that have informed our country's forward march in the past 14 years remain in place. They continue to provide us with the strong base from which we

must proceed as we keep our eyes firmly focused on the continued pursuit of the goal of a better life for all our people. Thus should we all reaffirm that we remain on course as we continue to strive to make ours a winning nation.

However, like all the hon members, I am aware of the fact that many in our society are troubled by a deep sense of unease about where our country will be tomorrow. They are concerned about the national emergency into which the country has been thrown by the unexpected disruptions in the supply of electricity.

They are concerned about some developments in our economy, especially the steady increase in interest rates, in food and in fuel prices, which further impoverish especially the poor. Some among these worry about the possible impact on our own economy of the threat of economic recession in the United States.

They are worried about whether we have the capacity to defend the democratic rights and the democratic Constitution which were born of enormous sacrifices. This is driven by such developments as the prosecution of the National Commissioner of Police, the suspension of the National Director of Public Prosecutions, fears about a threat to the independence of the judiciary and the rule of law, and the attendant allegations about the abuse of state power for political purposes.

They are worried about whether our country is threatened by the anarchy represented by the criminal torching of six passenger trains in Tshwane last month.

While they recognise and respect the right of the ruling party to regulate its own affairs, they are concerned that it must continue to play its role as one of the principal architects of a democratic, nonracial, nonsexist and prosperous South Africa.

Most obviously, it would be irresponsible to ignore these and other concerns or dismiss them as mere jeremiads typical of the prophets of doom. The real challenge is to respond to them in a manner that conveys the definite message to everybody in our country and the millions in Africa and elsewhere in the world who watch our country with keen interest, that we remain firm in our resolve to continue building the kind of South Africa that has given hope not only to our people, but also to many others outside our borders. [Applause.]

Let me therefore make bold to say that this historical moment demands that our nation should unite as never before and strain every sinew of its collective body to address our common challenges and keep alive the dream that has sustained all of us as we travelled along the uncharted road towards the creation of the South Africa visualised in our Constitution.

The national emergency represented by the current power outages poses the challenge and presents the opportunity to the entirety of our nation to give concrete expression to the call we have just made for all of us to unite in action and act in unity to keep our country on course. This must say to all of us that we are indeed in a period of challenges, but surmountable challenges. And precisely because it is a period of challenges, it is also an era of opportunity!

In this regard, I would like to express our appreciation and full agreement with the comments made by the Chief Executive of Anglo American, Cynthia Carroll, when she addressed the

Mining Indaba here in Cape Town earlier this week, on Tuesday, February 5. As the hon members know, she said:

I don't regard the problems of energy supply here as a disaster. And South Africa is not alone: there are pressures on supply regarding our expansion projects in Chile and Brazil.

Sure, the problems here are serious; overcoming them will require ingenuity, especially in energy efficiency and energy saving, as well as the development of alternative power supplies. But if all of us can forge strong partnerships to tackle the situation, we will all come through – I hope relatively unscathed ... This is not a time for finger pointing, but for working together in finding solutions.

[Applause.]

This having been said, it is however also necessary that we take this opportunity to convey to the country the apologies of both the government and Eskom for the national emergency which has resulted in all of us having to contend with the consequences of load-shedding. [Applause.] I would also like to thank all citizens for their resilience and forbearance in the face of the current difficulties.

In the past two weeks, the Ministers of Minerals and Energy and Public Enterprises have outlined the nature of the emergency we confront and what each one of us can do to normalise the situation. Last week the hon members had an opportunity to reflect on these matters.

In essence the significant rise in electricity demand over the past two years has outstripped the new capacity we have brought on stream. The resultant tight supply situation makes the overall system vulnerable to any incident affecting the availability of energy. In this situation, we have to curtail the unplanned outages, and the only way we can do this immediately is to reduce demand and thus ensure a better reserve margin.

As government our task is to now lead and unite the country behind a campaign for energy efficiency that will address this challenge. Among other things, we must use the current adversity to ensure that our homes and economy become more energy efficient.

There are concrete actions that each individual, household and business can take. These are being disseminated by the Department of Minerals and Energy, and we remain open to any suggestions that you, our compatriots, may give to us and share with one another.

Government will start implementing a campaign to ensure efficient lighting, solar water heating and geyser load management in households, including housing standards for all new houses and developments. We urge households that can afford to, to act immediately to consider implementing these energy-saving measures.

An instruction has been issued for all government buildings to reduce their consumption of electricity, and please feel free to name and shame those who do not.

The details of other voluntary and mandatory actions in the Power Conservation Programme have been set out by the Ministers and these will be refined through consultation with the various stakeholders and then published.

On the supply side, Eskom is working furiously to ensure the introduction of co-generation projects as a matter of urgency. We are taking steps to enhance Eskom's maintenance capacity. We have emergency teams dealing with the challenge of coal quality and supply with the coal mining industry and we are working to fast-track the approval and construction of gas turbine projects. All these actions, taken together with the electricity-saving measures, will improve certainty and raise the reserve margin.

The massive Eskom build programme in new generation, transmission and distribution capacity will continue; and, where possible, some projects will be accelerated. In this regard, I would like to thank the private sector for being prepared to assist in whatever way they can. In a meeting with the Chairman of General Electric, GE, during the course of last week, GE offered to assist by procuring scarce turbine equipment on our behalf. In South Africa our own large companies such as Sasol, Anglo American and BHP Billiton are all in concrete discussions with the Departments of Mineral and Energy and of Public Enterprises to find cost-effective and sustainable solutions to the supply constraint. The approach is one of common action rather than recrimination.

I particularly want to pay tribute to the mining industry for the way in which they have assisted us and the economy to resolve a real crisis that hit us on 24 January. We will all work to minimise the adverse impact these events had on the industry.

Collective effort and consultation are at the centre of our response to the emergency. Task teams are currently working in many areas. Next week the provincial premiers will convene their fora with mayors to plan and implement the energy-saving measures in all the municipalities across the country. They will be supported by technical teams from EDI Holdings, Eskom and the National Energy Efficiency Agency. The Department of Provincial and Local Government will co-ordinate this activity, supported by the line Departments of Mineral and Energy and of Public Enterprises.

I will convene a meeting of the Joint Presidential Working Groups to co-ordinate our overall actions. I will also shortly announce a team of "Energy Champions", consisting of prominent and knowledgeable South Africans who will assist government with the energy efficiency campaign and inform investors and communities on the actual situation and how they can help to address our current challenges.

The Minister of Finance will provide more information in the Budget Speech on the support that the government will provide for the energy-efficiency campaign and to Eskom in its build programme.

We face an emergency but we can overcome the problems in a relatively short time. This situation has precipitated the inevitable realisation that the era of very cheap and abundant electricity has come to an end. However, given our large base of installed generation capacity, for a long time to come ours will remain among the few economies with affordable electricity.

We are a minerals resource economy. We must therefore continue to support the mining industry. It is inevitable that if we are to continue on our growth path as a manufacturing country, we will also have to continue supporting the processing industry. However, it is imperative that all enterprises become more energy efficient. Indeed, energy efficiency itself provides economic opportunity.

Let us therefore use this emergency to put in place the first building blocks of the essential energy-efficient future we dare not avoid. Let us ensure that all hands are on deck to address the turbulence that has hit us, inspired by the approach that our circumstances call for Business Unusual!

This is exactly the same approach we must adopt as we continue to prepare to host the Fifa Confederations Cup in 2009 and the 2010 Fifa Soccer World Cup which will kick off in our country 854 days from today. I mention this important matter here because the current challenges we are facing have led some elsewhere in the world once more to question whether we will be able to host these tournaments successfully.

Of course, I have absolutely no doubt that we will honour our undertakings to Fifa and the world community of soccer players and lovers to create all the necessary conditions for the holding of the best-ever Fifa Soccer World Cup tournament. [Applause.]

The sense that we get, across all sectors of South African society and further afield, represented by the actual daily progress we are making in terms of our all-round preparations, is one of Business Unusual: all hands on deck for 2010! We must ensure that we sustain this approach.

We are fully aware that a critical element of our preparations should be the building of a strong South African team which will do us and the whole of the football fraternity proud. I am certain that the SA Football Association, our coaches led by Carlos Alberto Parreira, and the players themselves are aware of the heavy responsibility they carry to prepare a national team of which both we and Africa should be proud. [Applause.]

Once more we thank the Springboks for showing the way when they won the Rugby World Cup last year. [Applause.] This must inspire Bafana Bafana ... [Laughter.] ... as it must inspire our athletes who will compete in the Beijing Olympic Games later this year.

Let me now turn to the Apex Priorities I mentioned. Further to accelerate our economic growth and development, we will implement the Industrial Policy Action Plan. Government will continue our industrialisation programme and continue to create opportunities for growth and employment creation. In this regard, R2,3 billion has been budgeted for industrial policy initiatives, and a further R5 billion in tax incentives over three years will support industrial policy.

Working together with business and labour, we shall also develop, as urgently as possible, key action plans in sectors where such plans do not exist, such as mining and minerals beneficiation, consumer durables, retail with a focus on improving support to small enterprises, construction, the creative industries, agriculture and agro-processing.

Once more I would like to emphasise that we remain determined to support the automotive sector and will therefore ensure that the support given to this sector through the Motor Industry Development Programme is maintained.

At the macroeconomic level, we will continue to maintain a fiscal posture that supports continued economic growth and development, reducing our external vulnerability.

To speed up the process of building infrastructure, we will finalise the development of an integrated infrastructure plan, with specific emphasis on energy efficiency. This entails co-ordinating the programmes of the state-owned enterprises and overlaying all the infrastructure plans, including freight and other logistics, energy pipelines, information and communications technology, road infrastructure, water and electricity, both in terms of their timing and their geographic location.

Cutting across these plans, and therefore a critical priority, is information and communications technology both as a facilitator and a sector in its own right. Accordingly, we will this year complete the licensing and operationalisation of Infraco. [Laughter.] It's a difficult word; even Tony Leon can't read this word. [Laughter.] Already, money has been allocated for Sentech to become a wireless Internet wholesaler as well as to finance its digitisation. Working with other governments on the continent and the private sector, we will complete the process to launch the undersea cables.

At the same time, we aim to provide digital broadcasting to 50% of the population by the end of the year. Attached to this will be a manufacturing strategy for the development in South Africa of Set-top Boxes, which should be finalised by the middle of the year.

Having noted that the tardiness with which government processes applications for investment in relation to issues such as land acquisition, infrastructure and environmental impact assessments – that all these can at times make or break investor decisions - we have decided, in the spirit of Business Unusual, to work urgently to set up a call centre through which prospective investors and government can track these processes. That work has already started.

An element of government's Apex of Priorities will be deliberate focus on matters of skills development. Work to review the National Human Resource Development Strategy will be completed this year, and the projects that the joint team of government, labour, business and academic institutions organised under the Joint Initiative for Priority Skills Acquisition – Jipsa - will be intensified.

Indeed, we are greatly encouraged by the good response from the private sector as demonstrated through the commitment by the CEOs of 70 of the Johannesburg Securities Exchange-listed companies to work with government in addressing the challenge of scarce skills.

In addition to this work, we will in the coming period prioritise further interventions in the FET colleges, the Setas, the resourcing of schools in the lowest three quintiles, freeing them from the responsibility to charge fees, and speeding up on-the-job training for professional graduates. [Applause.]

Further, after correcting weaknesses in our Adult Basic Education programme, which we identified last year, we shall this month launch the *Kha Ri Gude* mass literacy campaign - the "Let us learn" mass literacy campaign. [Applause.] This will include the training of master trainers who will provide basic literacy classes to 300 000 adults and youth in 2008.

At the centre of our economic programmes is, and should always be, the consideration whether their success is helping to improve the quality of life of all South Africans, acting as an important weapon in our War on Poverty and accelerating our advance towards the

attainment of such objectives as the reduction of unemployment and advancing the goal of health for all.

In the programme to provide sustainable human settlements, we are now able to provide 260 000 housing units per annum, and an agreement has been reached with Salga to place a moratorium on the sale of land that can be availed for the housing programme. [Applause.]

Along with the progress we are making in the variety of interventions focused on poverty reduction, we continue to address many weaknesses, including the processing of the Land Use Management Bill, the finalisation of the land restitution cases, the support programme for those who acquire land, and the development and implementation of a determined rural development programme.

These are some of the issues to which we will pay attention during this year, and ensure that we meet the targets we have set ourselves.

Yet another critical Apex Priority is the elaboration of an integrated and comprehensive antipoverty strategy that addresses especially sections of the population most affected by this scourge. These include children, women, the youth, people living in rural areas and urban informal settlements, people with disabilities or chronic illnesses and the elderly.

Among the key proposed interventions are: expanding the Public Works Programme, employment subsidies for direct job-creation for targeted groups, enhancing employment search capability, improving education and training, improving services and assets among poor communities, specific interventions in poor households, and ensuring effectiveness of institutions supporting women and other sectors. Among other things, we will make an evaluation of the gender machinery so as to improve all aspects related to women empowerment.

Parallel to this initiative is a special project to examine interventions required to deal with vulnerable children over the age of 14.

But we will all agree that our society, and the poor specifically, cannot wait for strategies and dialogues and workshops – important as these may be. In any case, most of the interventions possible are things that government is already doing, though not sufficiently integrated. As such, in the spirit of Business Unusual, government intends this year to intensify the campaign to identify specific individual households and individuals in dire need and to put in place interventions that will help, in the intervening period, to alleviate their plight in those individual households. [Applause.]

For this, we will require a national war room for a war against poverty, bringing together departments such as Social Development, Provincial and Local Government, Trade and Industry, Agriculture and Land Affairs, Public Works and Health as well as provincial and local administrations, which will work with NGOs and business to identify the interventions required in specific households and implement them as a matter of urgency.

We shall this year attend to other specific priorities which are critical to the country's war against poverty, in pursuit of socioeconomic inclusion. These are: speeding up land and agrarian reform with detailed plans for land acquisition, better implementation of agricultural support services and household food support, and improving the capital base and reach of Mafisa – the Micro-Agricultural Financial Institutions of SA - to provide micro-credit in this

sector. The focus will be placed on areas of large concentrations of farm dwellers and those with high eviction rates, and we aim to increase black entrepreneurship in agricultural production by 5% per year, and the audit on land ownership will be speeded up.

The Budget will provide for an increase in the social grant system by equalising the age of eligibility for old age pensions at 60, thus benefiting about half a million men. [Applause.] These interventions will also include intensifying efforts already started to scale up assistance to co-operatives and small enterprises, especially those involving women, with the emphasis on providing training and markets, including linking them up with established outlets.

This will also include scaling up of the National Youth Service programme, including a graduated increase of the intake in the Military Skills Development programme of the SA National Defence Force from the current 4 000 to 10 000. [Applause.] An amount of R700 million has already been given to the National Defence Force to start scaling up this programme.

This will also include intensifying the Expanded Public Works Programme which, by surpassing the set targets, has shown potential to absorb more entrants. This will include increased intake of young people in the programme to maintain public infrastructure, doubling the number of children enrolled in Early Childhood Development to over 600 000 through 1 000 new sites with more than 3 500 practitioners trained and employed, and increasing the number of caregivers. About R1 billion over the baseline will be allocated to these programmes that fall within the Expanded Public Works Programme. [Applause.]

And, these interventions will also include introducing the system of products for preferential procurement by government from small, medium and micro-enterprises and, through the Small Enterprises Development Agency, setting up a rigorous system to ensure that the 30-day payment period is observed. [Applause.]

We will also integrate the programme to speed up the development of sustainable human settlements, with intensified efforts, as a matter of urgent priority, to accelerate universal access to water, sanitation and electricity, so that by 2014 we should have decent human settlements and access by all households to these services.

Accelerating our advance towards the achievement of the goal of health for all includes intensified implementation of the National Strategic Plan against HIV and Aids. We also aim during the course of this year to reduce TB defaulter rates from 10% to 7%, train over 3 000 health personnel in the management of this disease and ensure that all multidrug-resistant and extreme-drug-resistant TB patients receive treatment.

We aim to complete the work on the comprehensive social security system, benefiting from the consultations that have already started with our social partners.

As we put all our hands on deck and gear ourselves for Business Unusual, we should also intensify national dialogue on the issues that define us as a nation. Two such issues deserve brief mention.

The first of these is a proposal that we should develop a pledge that will be recited by learners in their morning school assemblies, as well as a Youth Pledge extolling the virtues of

humane conduct and human solidarity among all South Africans. [Applause.] The Minister of Education will elaborate in the national debate on these matters next week.

The second issue is about geographic and place names, which requires a synchronised process across all provinces so that we can create a base slate for the changes that we propose. We will launch this synchronised process soon, guided by the SA Geographical Names Council and its provincial committees.

When we reflected on the issue of crime at last year's Joint Sitting of Parliament, we all expressed grave concern not only at the high rates of crime, but also at the indication that things seemed to be turning for the worse especially in respect to murder – bucking the trend of improvement since the attainment of democracy.

Accordingly, last year we engaged in systematic interaction with business and other sectors of the population to develop a holistic approach towards revamping the criminal justice system in its totality.

In this regard, in the spirit of Business Unusual, Cabinet has agreed on a set of changes that are required to establish a new, modernised, efficient and transformed criminal justice system. Among other things, this will entail setting up a new co-ordinating and management structure for the system at every level, from national to local, bringing together the judiciary and magistracy, the police, the prosecutors, Correctional Services and the Legal Aid Board, as well as other interventions, including the empowerment of the community policing forums.

As the hon members are aware, some of these initiatives are already under way, but we are certain that, if they are all carried out in an integrated and complementary manner, the impact will be that much more effective in our fight against crime. The Ministers of the justice, crime prevention and security cluster will elaborate on the details of this and other initiatives during the course of next week.

We shall also, during the course of this year, process the Bills on the transformation of the judiciary in consultation with judges and magistrates, complete the strategy aimed at strengthening border control and security, further give life to the Victims' Charter, pay particular attention to the issue of repeat offenders, and continue the implementation of additional measures deriving from recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Informed by the imperative to intensify the offensive against organised crime, as well as the recommendations of the Khampepe Judicial Commission on the functioning and the location of the Directorate of Special Operations and continuing reflections on this matter – including the reform of the criminal justice system - we shall by the end of March this year interact with Parliament on legislation and other decisive measures required further to enhance our capacity to fight organised crime.

What will continue to inform us as we take this step will be the absolute commitment of government to fighting organised crime and improving the management, efficiency and co-ordination of all our law-enforcement agencies.

Of great importance, our success in the fight against crime depends on co-operation among all of us as law-abiding citizens, inspired by the principles of the rule of law, respect for our

judiciary and the pursuit of equal human rights, which our Constitution enjoins us to observe in our daily lives and pronouncements.

We will continue this year with efforts to improve the machinery of government so that it meets its obligations to the citizens. If anything, the spirit of Business Unusual should apply to all individuals who carry the privilege of being public servants. There are simple but urgent and critical priorities we will attend to, as part of the overall effort to improve the organisation and capacity of the state.

Firstly, it has been agreed across all spheres of government that especially the critical vacancies should be filled within six months of such openings emerging. [Applause.] The Department of the Public Service and Administration will set up a monitoring system to track the implementation of this decision.

Secondly, by May of every year - and within two months of the beginning of the financial year at local government level - all senior managers should have filed their key performance agreements with the relevant authorities. [Applause.] The Public Service Commission will set up monitoring systems in this regard.

Thirdly, recognising that the Department of Home Affairs touches the core of every citizen's life, we will this year intensify the implementation of the turnaround strategy approved by Cabinet. This includes improving the IT systems, training of staff on the new systems, rooting out the corrupt elements and piloting the new ID card. Improvement of performance in the Public Service also depends on the quality of leadership provided by the executive and senior management. Further, it is critical to enhance the commitment of public employees to their duties – a task that belongs to the leadership, to the public servants themselves and to the trade union movement.

In this regard, this year, in consultation with the public-sector unions, we will convene a Public Sector Summit to thrash out these issues so that the spirit of Batho Pele can find concrete expression wherever a government service is provided. [Applause.]

Working with other social partners, we shall ensure that, by the end of this year, the second National Anti-corruption Programme is adopted, and that the action plan agreed with organised business is implemented. At local government level, we shall assist the first 150 of our municipalities to develop their anticorruption strategies.

We shall continue this year to intensify efforts to strengthen local government capacity in line with the five-year Local Government Strategic Agenda. To ensure systematic monitoring in this regard, Salga has agreed to provide quarterly reports on the work being done.

In order further to improve the service being provided to vulnerable sectors such as veterans, women and youth, we shall review the structures delegated to carry out these functions and examine the most appropriate arrangements, including the evaluation of the government structures specifically established to focus on youth development and empowerment.

Many of the challenges in our work which we have identified derive from serious weaknesses in terms of our planning. Thus, as part of our Apex Priorities, in the coming period we will complete the processes that will enable us to enhance government's capacity to put in place realistic and integrated plans, covering all spheres of government.

Hon members, the programme that we have outlined incorporates the commitments that our country has agreed with the leadership of the continent through the African Peer Review Mechanism.

Our focus, in promoting the African Agenda this year, will be on the strengthening of the African institutions, including the African Union and its development programme, Nepad.

This we shall do, inspired by the common aspiration of the peoples of the continent, for greater integration in pursuit of continental unity at all levels. A critical step in this regard is the consolidation of regional institutions and activities aimed at achieving regional integration.

We continue to be committed to a free trade area in the Southern African Development Community, and hope to use our Chairpersonship of SADC in 2008/2009 further to give impetus to the regional endeavours in this regard.

It is in this context as well that we shall continue our bilateral and multilateral interactions with our neighbours and the European Union, within the context of the process led by the African Union, to ensure that the negotiations on the Economic Partnership Agreements are completed as soon as possible, premised on accelerating the development of our region.

Over the past year we carried out the mandate of SADC to assist the political leadership of Zimbabwe to find a lasting solution to the political challenges they face. We had an opportunity, on the fringes of the AU Summit in Addis Ababa last week, formally to present a comprehensive report to the leadership of SADC on this matter.

In short, the parties involved in the dialogue have reached full agreement on all matters relating to the substantive issues the parties had to address. These include issues relating to the Constitution, security, media and electoral laws, and other matters that have been in contention for many years. The relevant laws in this regard have already been approved by the Zimbabwe parliament, including the necessary constitutional amendments. What is outstanding, however, is a procedural matter relating to the timing and the manner of enactment of the new agreed Draft Constitution.

Accordingly, we join the SADC Heads of State and Government in congratulating the parties to the Zimbabwe Dialogue on their truly commendable achievements and encourage them to work together to resolve the remaining procedural matter. As requested by the SADC Heads of State and Government, we remain ready to continue to facilitate the Zimbabwe negotiations. At the same time, we wish the people of Zimbabwe success in the elections scheduled for 29 March. [Applause.]

Our multifaceted relations with the Democratic Republic of Congo will continue, as we seek to contribute to the efforts of the sister people of that country to attain a lasting peace, and implement their reconstruction and development programme.

Our government will remain seized of the processes under way in Kenya, Chad, Burundi, Darfur in the Sudan, Western Sahara, Côte d'Ivoire, Somalia, the Comoros and the Central African Republic to find lasting peace and stability.

We are particularly concerned by the senseless violence and killings in both Kenya and Chad, developments that clearly set back the progress we have been making in the past few years with regard to the regeneration of the African continent. We call on all African compatriots to do whatever we can, together to help bring a stop to all these negative developments.

We will, of course, continue to carry out our tasks in the United Nations Security Council. Critical in this regard is the strengthening of co-operation between the United Nations Security Council and the Peace and Security Council of the African Union.

Impelled by the desire to promote the improvement in the quality of life of all peoples, particularly in the developing countries, we shall focus on further strengthening our participation in the India-Brazil-South Africa forums, the New Africa-Asia Strategic Partnership, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Group of 77 and negotiations to complete the SACU-Mercusor trade agreement.

In the same measure, we shall continue to contribute to the realisation of the objectives of the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change and ongoing improvements in this regard, and in giving further impetus to the negotiations on the WTO Doha Development Round.

This year we celebrate the tenth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Africa and the People's Republic of China. The mushrooming of relations in a variety of areas between our governments and peoples confirms that the China-South Africa Partnership for Growth and Development is a strategic relationship of mutual benefit, which can only grow from strength to strength.

Next year South Africa will play host to the Review Conference to evaluate the implementation of the decisions of the World Conference Against Racism, which was held in our country in 2004. We are confident that, informed by their abhorrence of the scourge of racism and the devastating consequences it continues to exact on humanity, the governments and peoples of the world will work together with us to ensure that the Review Conference achieves its objectives.

These global responsibilities, including the hosting of the 2010 Fifa Soccer World Cup, bring out in even bolder relief the confidence that humanity has in our country as a strategic player in the noble endeavours of all humanity. But we should not take this for granted.

I am confident that, under the leadership of the International Marketing Council, Trade and Investment SA – Tisa - Tourism SA and other agencies, we shall all put our hands on deck to communicate to the rest of the world the spirit of Business Unusual, and our continuing advance towards the creation of a society that cares and the conditions for the world to gather in our country to celebrate Africa's humanity in 2010.

Madame Speaker, Chairperson and hon members, having said all that I have said, I come back to the question: What is the state of our nation as we enter 2008? What I do know and hereby make bold to say is: Whatever the challenges of the moment, we are still on course! [Applause.]

I say this with unshakeable conviction, because I am certain that South Africans are capable and geared to meet the challenge of history – to strain every sinew of our being – to respond

to the national challenges of the day, including those relating to our economy, the political and economic situation in Africa and elsewhere in the world, and seize the opportunities that our country's progress over the past 14 years has provided.

With all hands on deck, and committed to conducting our business in an unusual and more effective fashion, we shall sustain the process of our reconstruction and development and take it to even higher levels. I thank you very much. [Applause.]

The CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Order! I now thank the hon the President. The full text of the address by the President will be published in the minutes of the proceedings of this Joint Sitting. After I have adjourned the Joint Sitting, members and guests should remain in their places until the procession has left the Chamber.

The Chairperson of the National Council of Province adjourned the Joint Sitting at 11:57.

University of Cape Town

Address to the nation by President Thabo Mbeki

21 September 2008

Fellow South Africans,

I have no doubt that you are aware of the announcement made yesterday by the National Executive Committee of the ANC with regard to the position of the President of the Republic.

Accordingly, I would like to take this opportunity to inform the nation that today I handed a letter to the Speaker of the National Assembly, the Honourable Baleka Mbete, to tender my resignation from the high position of President of the Republic of South Africa, effective from the day that will be determined by the National Assembly.

I have been a loyal member of the African National Congress (ANC) for 52 years. I remain a member of the ANC and therefore respect its decisions. It is for this reason that I have taken the decision to resign as President of the Republic, following the decision of the National Executive Committee of the ANC.

I would like sincerely to thank the nation and the ANC for having given me the opportunity to serve in public office during the last 14 years as the Deputy President and President of South Africa.

This service has at all times been based on the vision, the principles and values that have guided the ANC as it prosecuted a difficult and dangerous struggle in the decades before the attainment of our freedom in 1994.

Among other things, the vision, principles and values of the ANC teach the cadres of this movement life-long lessons that inform us that wherever we are and whatever we do we should ensure that our actions contribute to the attainment of a free and just society, the upliftment of all our people, and the development of a South Africa that belongs to all who live in it.

This is the vision of a South Africa that is democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous; a country in which all the people enjoy a better life.

Indeed the work we have done in pursuit of the vision and principles of our liberation movement has at all times been based on the age-old values of Ubuntu, of selflessness, sacrifice and service in a manner that ensures that the interests of the people take precedence over our desires as individuals.

I truly believe that the governments in which I have been privileged to serve have acted and worked in the true spirit of these important values.

Based on the values of Ubuntu, the significance of which we learnt at the feet of such giants of our struggle as Chief Albert Luthuli, OR Tambo, Nelson Mandela and others, we as government, embarked, from 1994, on policies and programmes directed at pulling the people of South Africa out of the morass of poverty and ensuring that we build a stable, developed and prosperous country.

Accordingly, among many things we did, we transformed our economy, resulting in the longest sustained period of economic growth in the history of our country; we introduced an indigent policy that reaches large numbers of those in need; we made the necessary advances so as to bring about a developmental state, the better to respond to the many and varied challenges of the transformation of our country.

This is, of course not the occasion to record the achievements of government. An additional critical few are however worth mentioning. They include our achievements with regard to many of the Millennium Development Goals, the empowerment of women, the decision to allow us to host the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup and our election as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council two years ago.

Despite the economic advances we have made, I would be the first to say that even as we ensured consistent economic growth, the fruits of these positive results are still to be fully and equitably shared among our people, hence the abject poverty we still find coexisting side by side with extraordinary opulence.

Importantly, we had an obligation to ensure that democracy becomes the permanent feature of our lives and that all our citizens respect the rule of law and human rights. This is one of the cornerstones of our democracy, which we have consistently striven to protect and never to compromise.

We have also worked continuously to combat the twin challenges of crime and corruption, to ensure that all our people live in conditions of safety and security. We must admit that we are still faced with many challenges in this regard.

Work will therefore have to continue to strengthen and improve the functioning of our criminal justice system, to provide the necessary resources for this purpose, to activate the masses of our people to join the fight against crime and corruption, and to achieve new victories in the struggle for moral regeneration.

With regard to the latter, our successive governments from 1994 to date have worked consistently to encourage the entrenchment in our country of a value system whose observance would make all of us Proudly South African, a value system informed by the precept of Ubuntu – umuntu ngumuntu ngabanye. Among other things this means that we must all act in a manner that respects the dignity of every human being.

We have sought to advance this vision precisely because we understood that we would fail in the struggle to achieve the national and social cohesion that our country needs, as well as the national unity we require to enable us to act together to address the major challenges we face.

Fellow South Africans,

Since the attainment of our freedom in 1994, we have acted consistently to respect and defend the independence of the judiciary. For this reason our successive governments have honoured all judicial decisions, including those that went against the Executive. This did not mean that the Executive did not at times have strong views which we would have publicly pronounced upon. The central approach we

adopted has always been to defend the judiciary rather than act in a manner that would have had a negative impact on its work.

Indeed, on the infrequent instances when we have publicly expressed views contrary to those of the judiciary, we have done so mindful of the need to protect its integrity.

Consistent with this practice, I would like to restate the position of Cabinet on the inferences made by the Honourable Judge Chris Nicholson that the President and Cabinet have interfered in the work of the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA). Again I would like to state this categorically that we have never done this, and therefore never compromised the right of the National Prosecuting Authority to decide whom it wished to prosecute or not to prosecute.

This applies equally to the painful matter relating to the court proceedings against the President of the ANC, Comrade Jacob Zuma.

More generally, I would like to assure the nation that our successive governments since 1994 have never acted in any manner intended wilfully to violate the Constitution and the law. We have always sought to respect the solemn Oath of Office each one of us made in front of the Chief Justice and other judges, and have always been conscious of the fact that the legal order that governs our country was achieved through the sacrifices made by countless numbers of our people, which included death.

In this context it is most unfortunate that gratuitous suggestions have been made seeking to impugn the integrity of those of us who have been privileged to serve in our country's National Executive.

Compatriots,

Again, as you know, we have often pointed to the fact that our liberation movement has always been pan-African in its outlook and therefore that we have an obligation to contribute to the renaissance of the African continent.

All of us are aware of the huge and daunting challenges that face our continent. In the short years since our freedom, as South Africans we have done what we could to make our humble contribution to the regeneration of our continent.

We have devoted time and resources to the task of achieving the Renaissance of Africa because this is what has informed generations of our liberators, even before the ANC was formed in 1912. We have done this fully understanding that our country shares a common destiny with the rest of our Continent.

I therefore thank the many dedicated compatriots – men and women – who have made it possible for us to contribute to the resolution of conflicts and the strengthening of democracy in a number of countries including the Kingdom of Lesotho, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Comoros, Zimbabwe, Sudan and elsewhere. We have also done this work conscious of our responsibilities as a State Member of both SADC and the African Union.

I would like to thank my colleagues, the many Heads of State and Government on the African continent whose abiding vision is that Africa must be free; that all our countries, individually and collectively should become democratic, developed and prosperous, and that Africa must unite. These African patriots know as I do that Africa and Africans will not and must not be the wretched of the earth in perpetuity.

Similarly we have worked to contribute to the achievement of the aspirations of the countries and peoples of the South, conscious of the need for us to act in solidarity and in unity with the billions with whom we share the common challenge to defeat poverty and underdevelopment.

Accordingly, I depart the Office of President of South Africa knowing that this country has many men and women who have dedicated their lives to ensure that South Africa, Africa and the countries of the South will, in time, manage to ensure a better world for all of humanity.

I depart this Office conscious that the sterling work done by the Presidency, the Ministries and departments, the provinces and local government structures will continue, driven by the determination to achieve the goal of a better life for all.

I am convinced that the incoming administration will better the work done during the past 14-and-half years so that poverty, underdevelopment, unemployment, illiteracy, challenges of health, crime and corruption will cease to define the lives of many of our people.

I have received many messages from South Africans, from all walks of life, through e-mails, telephonically and through cell phone text messages as well as those conveyed through my colleagues. I thank all of you, fellow South Africans, for these messages.

To everyone, and responding to these messages, I would like to say that gloom and despondency have never defeated adversity. Trying times need courage and resilience. Our strength as a people is not tested during the best of times. As we said before, we should never become despondent because the weather is bad nor should we turn triumphalist because the sun shines.

For South Africa to succeed there is more work to be done and I trust that we will continue to strive to act in unity to accelerate the advance towards the achievement of our shared national goals.

In this regard, it may be worth repeating what I said during the inauguration of the President of the Republic in 1999. Using the metaphor of the Comrades Marathon, I said then that:

"Those who complete the course will do so only because they do not, as fatigue sets in, convince themselves that the road ahead is still too long, the incline too steep, the loneliness impossible to bear and the prize itself of doubtful value."

Once more, I thank you most sincerely for affording me the opportunity to serve you and to serve the people of Africa.

Thank you, ngiyathokoza, ke ya lebogang, ndo livhuwa, ndiyabulela, ndza khensa, baie dankie, ngiyabonga.

Issued by: The Presidency
21 September 2008

University of Cape Town

Izibongo zikaBhambatha.

Ingqungqulu eshaya amaphiko
Kwadilika izixhobo eHlenyane.
Izulu eliphose umbane phansi eHlenyane.
Kwacandeka imisululu.
Kwadilika izindonga.

Usibamba nkunzana
Ekade beyesaba
Ngoba ebambe abamhlophe
Umhlane ubelethe amagwala

(Translation of praises follows.)

Bhambatha's praises.

He - the African shot-tailed eagle that blew its wings
And led to the fall of a clump of trees at Hlenyane.
He who is like thunderous lightning at Hlenyane.
That cut through the savannah.
Which led to the dongas falling on their own.

He who tamed the small
Fearsome bull
Because he tamed the whites
He – whose back carried the cowards!

FOR YOUR INFORMATION:

Praises are given to heroes by people who admire what they have done. Bhambatha, as we all now know, was a fearless warrior who fought against the British rule and taxation. You will see that in his praises, he is said to have “tamed” the whites which I think in this case is the British. Hlenyane is the mountain closer to where Bhambatha lived. Most people were afraid of the whites and Bhambatha “tamed” them – read the second stanza.

In the first stanza, Bhambatha is likened to lightning accompanied by a thunderstorm. You can imagine that he must have been a man and a half to be likened to lightning. You must remember that we, Zulus in general, respect thunderstorms very much and for a person to be likened to it, he must have been a fearsome warrior. Perhaps he must have been very fast in using his spear.

FRIDAY, 8 FEBRUARY 2008

PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The Speaker of the National Assembly and the Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces took the Chair.

The Speaker of the National Assembly requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

CALLING OF JOINT SITTING

(Announcement)

The SPEAKER: The President has called for this Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces in terms of section 84(2)(d) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, read with Joint Rule 7(1)(a), to enable him to deliver his annual address to Parliament. I now call upon the hon the President to address the Joint Sitting. [Applause.]

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Thank you very much. Madam Speaker of the National Assembly; Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces; Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and Deputy Chairperson of the NCOP; Deputy President of the Republic; honourable leaders of our political parties and Honourable Members of Parliament; Ministers and Deputy Ministers; Mr Jacob Zuma, Former Deputy President of the Republic and President of the ANC ... [Applause.] ... our esteemed Chief Justice and members of the judiciary; heads of our security services; Governor of the Reserve Bank; distinguished premiers and speakers of our provinces; the Chairperson of Salga, the mayors and leaders in our system of local government; the Chairperson of the National House of Traditional Leaders and our honoured traditional leaders; heads of the state organs supporting our constitutional democracy; directors-general and other leaders of the Public Service; Your Excellencies, Ambassadors and High Commissioners; distinguished guests, friends, comrades; and people of South Africa:

Allow me on this occasion of the penultimate Joint Sitting of the third Parliament for the annual debate on the state of our nation, to wish all the Honourable Members of Parliament a nappy and productive New Year. [Applause.]

I am confident that 2008 will be one of the most remarkable years of our democracy, as we all work together to realise the core aspiration of our people to attain a better life for all. I say this because, in our own estimation, it is not often that a nation is called upon to strain every sinew of its collective body to attain a dream. And such is the injunction that history has imposed on us today.

I speak here today in the presence of my mother, Epainette Mbeki ... [Applause.] ... MaMofokeng, who came to communicate an unequivocal message from the rural masses of the Transkei, among whom she has lived for many decades. She says these masses demand of all of us who claim to be their leaders, that we tell them and others like them elsewhere in our country, whether we remain committed to the undertaking we have made that tomorrow will be better than today. In eight days' time, on February 16, she will be 92 years old. [Applause.] What she expects as her birthday present is the truth. I thank her for taking the trouble to be with us today, and trust that we will not disappoint her.

I would also like to take this opportunity to salute President Nelson Mandela ... [Applause.] ... one of the pre-eminent founding fathers of our democracy, who will mark his 90th birthday on 18 July this year. [Applause.]

We welcome to this occasion Mr Arthur Margeman, representing the veterans of the Alexandra bus boycott of 50 years ago, who include Nelson Mandela. [Applause.] We are also privileged to have among us Ms Jann Turner, the daughter of Rick Turner who was murdered by apartheid agents 30 years ago. [Applause.]

We are also pleased that we have among us Mr Dinilesizwe Sobukwe, son of the outstanding patriot and leader, Robert Sobukwe, who also passed away 30 years back after enduring many years of imprisonment, banishment and other forms of repression. [Applause.] We acknowledge, both among the hon members and our guests, the many founders of the United Democratic Front, 25 years ago. [Applause.]

All these honoured guests, representing both memory and hope, remind us by their presence that ours is a task in a relay race of continuous rebirth so that the dream of a better life becomes a reality for all South Africans. Indeed, they represent a celebration of the indomitable spirit of our people, and pose a challenge to all of us to act in ways that do not betray or disappoint the expectations of the people.

We are about to begin the last full financial year of the current and third democratic government and parliament, soon after which we will hold our fourth general elections. The government has therefore reviewed the distance we have travelled in terms of implementing the mandate given by the people in 2004.

I am pleased to say that we have indeed done much to implement the commitments we made to the people in 2004. However, and not unexpectedly, it is obvious that we still have outstanding work to do in this regard.

Given that we are approaching the end of our mandate term, the government decided that it should identify a suite of Apex Priorities on which it must focus in a special way, using these as catalysts further to accelerate progress towards the achievement of the objectives the people mandated us to pursue.

Happily, this state of the nation address has given me the possibility to report to Parliament and the nation on our 24 Apex Priorities which, which hon members can find on the government website during the course of next week.

The identification of the Apex Priorities means that all three spheres of government - the national, the provincial and the local - at both executive and administrative levels, are hereby